

THE

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

A

MONTHLY PAPER,

CONTAINING

ORIGINAL ESSAYS AND SELECTIONS,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

AFRICAN SLAVERY.

BENJAMIN LUNDY, EDITOR.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

VOL. II,

GREENEVILLE, TENN.

PRINTED BY THE PROPRIETOR,

1822-3,

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To **JAMES JONES**, President, and his Fellow Labourers and Co-adjutors,
the **FOUNDERS** of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, whose laudable zeal and
steady perseverance in the cause of Liberty and Justice entitle them to the lasting esteem
and gratitude of their Countrymen—This Volume of the

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THE EDITOR.

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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 1.—VOL. II.

SEVENTH MONTH, 1822.

WHOLE No. 13.

The present number commences the second year of the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*." Notwithstanding the predictions of the Advocates of Slavery, as well as lukewarm philanthropists, that it would not "live over one year," it has survived that period, and is looking forward, animated with livelier hopes and brighter prospects than ever. The Editor has now satisfactorily ascertained, that the course he has pursued has met with the decided approbation (with perhaps a few exceptions) of the most enlightened, humane, and patriotic citizens of the United States. It may be expected that it will be discountenanced by the interested, and the nerveless; for while the first are fearlessly exposed, the last are seldom consulted. But as the idea of a faithful performance of public duty should never be associated with considerations of temporary fame, neither "fear, favour, or affection," should be suffered to prevent its being fairly discharged.

It is the intention of the Editor to conduct the work hereafter upon the same principle that it has been since the commencement; and he pledges himself still to use every exertion to point out the evils as well as the dangers of the horrid system of slavery, until the people more generally fix their attention upon the subject.

Nothing is wanting to enable us to rid ourselves of this political Bohian Upas, but the *disposition* and the *will* to do it; and nothing more is requisite to create this disposition, than to arouse the slumbering faculties of a humane people, and by painting the monster of corruption in its true colours, and exhibiting it in its naked deformity, to induce them to reflect upon the consequences of suffering it to exist amongst them.

The Editor tenders his thanks to his numerous and valuable correspondents for their assistance, and requests them to continue their favors. The path we have chosen is a thorny one, but clothed with the impenetrable mantle of truth, and guided by honesty and justice, nothing that shall be arrayed against us will

be able to impede our march. Though we may pass thro' the fiery ordeal of envious or malicious persecution; and tho' we may be accounted fools by the pretended wise and great ones of the present day, (as the truly virtuous in all ages ever have been) we shall still enjoy the meed of self approbation; Posterity will do justice to our memory; and approving Heaven will smile on our labors. Let none therefore be discouraged, but remember that "*the end crowns the work*."

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE

*Thirteen United States of America,
IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.*

WHEN, in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident;—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when

a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into a compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise, the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsion within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has effected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our government:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely parallelled in the most barbarous ages, and total-

Pact Justitia Ruit Caelum.

by unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and

things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK, *Pres't.*

CHARLES THOMPSON, *Sec'y.*

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	James Smith
Josiah Bartlett	George Taylor
William Whipple	James Wilson
Matthew Thornton	George Ross
<i>Massachusetts Bay.</i>	<i>Delaware.</i>
Samuel Adams,	Cesar Rodney
John Adams,	George Read
Robert Treat Taine	Thomas McKean
Eldridge Gerry	<i>Maryland.</i>
<i>Rhode Island, &c.</i>	Samuel Chase
Stephen Hopkins	William Paca
William Ellery	Thomas Stone
<i>Connecticut.</i>	Charles Carroll
Roger Sherman	<i>Virginia.</i>
Samuel Huntingdon	George Wythe
William Williams	Richard Henry Lee
Oliver Wolcott	Thomas Jefferson
<i>New York.</i>	Benjamin Harrison
William Floyd	Thomas Nelson, jr.
Philip Livingston	Francis L. Lee
Francis Lewis	Carter Braxton
Lewis Morris	<i>North Carolina.</i>
<i>New Jersey.</i>	William Hooper
Richard Stockton	Joseph Hewes
John Witherspoon	John Penn
Francis Hopkinson	<i>South Carolina.</i>
John Hart	Edward Rutledge
Abraham Clark	Thomas Heyward, jr.
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	Thomas Lynch, jr.
Robert Morris	Arthur Middleton
Benjamin Rush	<i>Georgia.</i>
Benjamin Franklin	Burton Gwinnett
John Morton	Lyman Hall
George Clymer	George Walton

JOHN RANDOLPH.

Most of the readers of this paper have probably been informed that John Randolph, formerly a member of Congress, lately went to Europe, with the intention of making a tour thro' some parts of that continent. The last accounts we had from him, state that he was in England;—and that he was figuring away in great style among the royal folks at London.

At a late meeting of the *African Institution*, he made a speech in answer to the remarks of some of the members complimenting the United States, which so tickled the great ones, that it is said they made the hall ring with their applauses.

Perhaps they were delighted to see how eloquently a violent advocate of slavery could speak against the slave trade, simply because it suited his ideas of popularity. The most intelligent among them must have felt strong sensations of pity for the man who could thus pompously exhibit his weakness and inconsistency. But while we turn from a subject so disgusting, and lament the frailty of poor human nature, it is pleasing to observe that in this we have further evidence of a most important and striking fact, viz.—That the slave trade is now so generally abhorred, that in order to become popular, a person must not only refrain from saying a word in its favor, but in some cases must come out openly, and make known his disapprobation of it. Forty years ago this “trade” had its open and avowed advocates in all parts of what is called the Christian world:—now, no man who possesses the least regard for his character, dares to open his lips in its favor.—And just so it will be, ere long, with regard to the system of slavery itself. But a few years since, it had its palliators and defenders in all parts of the American Continent:—but how is it at this moment? In perhaps three fourths of the country north east of the Spanish line, an advocate of the diabolical practice would be indignantly spurned by the people, should he apply for an office of honor, trust or profit; and the liberal principles of freedom are daily spreading, and continually gaining ground.

The march of mind is rapid. **THE ADVOCATES OF LIBERTY ARE SUR* OF THEIR MARK.** Let them steadily pursue their object, and there is no danger. The fiend of Slavery in North America is surrounded. The free States of this Union are on the east, the north, and the west—Hayti and Colombia, on the south. The mighty force of *Public Opinion*, in the former, powerfully aided in its march, shall bear resistless down the majestic Mississippi, driving him before it; and arrested by the rising genius of the latter, his gorgon head will disappear amid the dark and stormy waves of the Mexican gulph.

ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

Declaration of Independence.

“The 4th of July,” 1776, was the memorable period when the people of the United States, wearied with the wrongs and

insults heaped upon them, by the British government, resolved to throw off their allegiance to it, and to establish within their borders, the empire of justice, liberty and law. Forty-six years have now passed away since they issued through their representatives, in Congress, that most important declaration, which has been heard in every nook and corner of the civilized world; has been admired by millions; and by some is hailed as the day star of political regeneration for the whole family of nations existing on the terraqueous globe. Sentiments so noble, maxims so just, or principles so excellent, were never perhaps inculcated by the politicians of any age or nation, as were those adopted and promulgated upon that occasion. If properly incorporated in the laws and regulations of society, and duly enforced, they would have a direct tendency to do away every species of tyranny and oppression, and would also redound to the peace, the happiness, the welfare and prosperity of mankind. The inalienable rights and privileges of man were defined and clearly expressed; the universality of their application was candidly and frankly admitted; and the odious distinctions created by the devotees of monarchy and feudal folly, were most solemnly protested against.

Whatever may have been the motives which actuated the sages and patriots of that time, their names will be handed down to posterity, and thro’ a long vista of future years they will be recognized as the benefactors of the human race.—Already their doctrines are not only embraced, but the effects of their promulgation are visible, in South America, and some parts of the continent of Europe. The Republics of Buenos Ayres, Colombia, Chili, Peru and Hayti, have been instituted upon the principles of ours; and it is expected that Mexico and other Provinces will soon follow in their train. The regeneration of the corrupt governments of Spain and Portugal has been partially accomplished; the Greeks are striving to obtain their liberty; and in several of the German principalities, it is believed that Monarchy totters on its foundations, and is nodding to its fall.

But whilst the people of the United States view these things with a degree of pleasure that is eminently calculated to flatter their pride; whilst they are rejoiced to perceive that the ball of political reformation, which they themselves

put in motion, is still rolling, increasing in weight and bulk as it goes, how must the patriot and the philanthropist be grieved to behold the tardiness manifested in the consummation of the great and holy work among ourselves!

Altho' we have publicly declared, over and over, *Forty-six times*, that **ALL MEN** are by nature free, we still have the hardihood, nay, the consummate wickedness, to hold

2,000,000

of the inhabitants of this land in unconditional bondage—a bondage more grievous than was ever suffered by any people under heaven, without affording them the most distant hope of liberation, either for themselves or their posterity!!!

Is it impossible for us to remove the obliquity which attaches to our conduct in this case, or can we not cleanse our hands of the foul pollution, and clear our skirts of the crying sin of African Slavery? Must this great nation which is so justly entitled to a proud pre-eminence over all others, on account of the political illumination and virtues of its founders, be held back in the race of moral improvement by the minions of Ambition and cold hearted Avarice, while others, its inferiors in every respect, are outstripping it, and advancing far beyond it in the career of honest fame? If we permit the people of Hayti, and those of the new Republic of Colombia to answer the first question, they will tell us, that if we had the *will* to do it, we might easily accomplish it. As to the second, it will perhaps be decided by our children.

A strong attachment to liberty, is an essential part of man's nature:—but in many parts of our country, very few except those denominated *white*, are permitted to enjoy it. Yet as the matter is regulated by blood, many who are actually white, are held in slavery, while others, who from their appearance might be supposed to belong to the sable race, are considered free by nature. This is a fact which should command the attention of every individual in this republic. It is truly alarming. Should a white stranger visit one of our Slave States, and some unprincipled villain take him before the civil authority, and swear that he knew him to be an absconding slave, he might be actually reduced to slavery, and sold to those tigers of the human

race, the New Orleans slave traders!

Free black men have frequently been so reduced; and nothing is wanting but a little more familiarity with the outrageous business, to place the liberties of thousands of foreigners, as well as our own citizens, in a situation truly dangerous.

"*Meus mihi suus cuique carus*"—is a trite maxim, but at the same time an incontrovertible truth;—and not only are we guilty of injustice, in denying to others those rights and privileges which we have declared to be inalienable, but our conduct is absolutely calculated to place our own in jeopardy.

In this paper, the Declaration of independence is inserted, and will serve as a sort of text book, from which many important inferences may be drawn.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

NO. IV.

January, 1822.

Endeared Sophy,

IT does not appear to me, from any thing I have read in history, that there was ever a time in that part of the world called christendom, wherein the minds of men were in a higher state of fermentation, exclusive of a time of war, than they are at the present; nor do I recollect of ever having had any information of a time, when zeal for religion, and its propagation among the heathen, and a zeal for the accumulation of the wealth and splendors of this world in conjunction with it, or, in other words, the striving to serve *God* and *Mammon*, at one and the same time, had any comparison with what now seems to be in brisk operation amongst a large majority of the christian professing part of the world.—From the view I have of the subject, on the evidence of such visible fruits and effects as surround me, I have seriously thought, that if there can be such a thing as the *human mouth* to be *agape* for the riches and glories of both *heaven* and *earth* at once, that it is now on its fullest stretch. It was said by the Saviour of men: "My kingdom is not of this world." But it appears to me, that the popular religion of our time, which some men have surnamed the *christian*, is so appendaged with the habiliments of the world, by the ingenuity of lucrative and designing men, that, instead of appearing as a "root out of a dry ground, and without form or comeliness," (to worldly

minded men) it is more admired for its golden trappings, than for its intrinsic value. For I think that it can be established on fact, that the nearer any system, called religion, corresponds to the spirit, temper and splendors of this world, the more votaries it is likely to have, till a deeper reformation shall take place in the world, than we have yet generally seen. Among the great variety of corruptions which have been admitted into the christian professing church, & which have been sanctioned by its rulers, is that of *slave-holding*—a crime, equal in magnitude to almost any other that can be named. The mischief that has been occasioned by the introduction and toleration of this evil amongst christian professing societies, is incalculable. It goes to establish men in a belief that they can deprive their fellow-men of their rights—live on the “gain of oppression,” and be christians at one and the same time; and as most men look up to religious characters for example, it would be a wonder indeed, when they see christian professors, and even dignitaries of high standing in the churches, living in the voluntary act of oppression, if they did not consider themselves completely justifiable in oppressing as many of their own species as they should be able to procure. There are, without doubt, in every professing denomination, a number of pious persons, both of the clergy and laity, who consider the sin of *slave-holding* to be very great, and yet keep slaveholders, sentimental, as well as others, in their respective societies or churches without rebuke; some of them *preachers, exhorters, &c.* others appointed to public offices in the several communities, & not only hold them in common fellowship, but sit, or kneel down with them at the *communion tables*, and unite with them in other ceremonials of the most expressive kinds of christian fellowship; and perhaps, never expostulate with them on the subject, or make any exertions to purge their churches from the horrid stain! Is this plain dealing? Or is it truth and honesty? I think it is neither:—I would call it *inconsistency*, not to give it a worse name. *Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy brother, and not suffer sin upon him*, is an ancient command, to both individuals and church rulers, as I think; but while individuals, and the ruling authorities in any denomination, join in communion and christian fellowship with

the violators of the *rights of man*, or of any other divine prerogative, and not even rebuke them for their sin, they tacitly justify them in it—bid them “*God speed!*” and suffer a sin of the most enormous magnitude upon them, to their eternal ruin! If the members of christian professing churches, both the clergy as well as others, who see the evils of slaveholding, would enter into a resolution to have all slave holders expelled from their societies, who would not emancipate their slaves; or if this could not be effected, (as their numbers are considerable) separate themselves from them, and openly protest against being in christian union with such; they might come to be ashamed, seek repentance, and find mercy.—But the way it is, I am persuaded that the taciturnity of those who see the evils of slave holding, goes farther in confirming professors who are in the practice of the heathenish deed, than all the other arguments which they have endeavored to muster, have been able to effect; and thus they set themselves down in carnal security, under the smiles of their anti-slave-holding brethren; whilst those who thus connive at the evil, may some day pay dear enough for their thoughtless tenacity! While writing these things, there occurs to my mind, a relation I have had of a very remarkable circumstance, which may be thought quite interesting by those who are at a distance from such scenes of inconsistency. It is as follows: A number of persons of a philanthropic turn of mind, in a certain section of country, entered into a humane association for the purpose of effecting the melioration of condition among the people of color, held in bondage in their district of country, on legal principles. The better to carry their laudable design into execution, they proposed the publication of a work by subscription, for the dissemination of light on the subject, to convince the people, if possible, that *oppression* was wrong, and that *liberty* is one of the unalienable *rights of man*;—A prospectus was issued, and patrons solicited; but strange to relate, so immersed were the citizens in the spirit of *slave-holding*, and at the same time, so entirely devoted to *religion*, and to the cause of foreign *missions*, that, if my information be correct, very few subscribers could be procured in that country, out of the aforesaid humane society; and finally, the plan of the work had to be altered, so as to

embrace some recent information relative to domestic or foreign missions, before the *slave-holding christians* of that section of country would patronize it! What a combination of contradictory passions, was exhibited on this occasion, by these men, who were determined to live on the gain of oppression; to trample on the sacred rights of man; to withhold from their vassals the means of literary knowledge; to deprive them of the powers of free agency, if not, as much as possible of moral accountability, and yet these men, and perhaps women too, profess to be the followers of the *Lamb*, to enjoy the comforts of *Gospel holiness*; and are so zealous for the conversion and salvation of the heathen, and for ushering in the millennial day, that they literally contribute large donations out of the sole earnings of their slaves, for promoting the above objects of their laudable zeal; while, perhaps, hundreds or thousands of their colored fellow mortals, in their fields, in their kitchens, or round their mansion doors with their old ragged hats, and caps under their arms, bowing and cringing, are by these *pious christians* kept in worse than Egyptian bondage, deprived of the knowledge of letters, in the midst of Bible Societies—are not accustomed to any other devotional exercises than the incessant labors of the field, or scullery, the insulting language of imperious tyrants, and the discordant anthems of the cow-skin whip; and no exertions used, or zeal manifested for the instruction, conversion, and salvation of these degraded victims of their pride and avarice!

These are at home; are curst with scorn and hate

For having skins as black as ebony, and thus

In ign'rance kept to make them better slaves.

Republicans are these?—Not christians, Pagans know.

What sort of a religion would these religious slave holders recommend to the heathen world? just such a religion I presume, as they themselves are in possession of; nor can their conceptions of the millenium be any thing more, than for all *white* people to believe as they do, and to be in possession of about the same sort, and quantum of religion that they have; and the millennial state, to be the full fruition of the high privileges of living on

the labor of others, without recompence or reward, in wealth & splendor, & without interruption; for it is not probable that they have any idea that the millenium will abolish slavery, or that the millennial state will abridge them of any of their pleasing worldly enjoyments, or they would be as liberal in subscribing for works that treat on the evils of slavery, as they are in their donation to missionaries, and in their subscriptions to missionary magazines.

*At such earth-born theology as this;
And at its vot'ries, (saints unsanctified)
Might devils laugh outright,
And, in full caucus, spread their broadest grin.*

If the zealous advocates for the extension of foreign missions for converting the heathen, and ushering in the millennial glory, have no better system of religion and morals to recommend to the Hindoos, Birmans, Tartars, Persians, American Indians, &c. &c. than the one above described, or the popular one of the present time, I should think they had better be without it, and that it would be altogether as profitable to us, for the heathens to send missionaries to instruct us in the practice of *justice, morality and humility*, as for us to send men to proselyte them to our creeds and notions, if at the same time, we should lead them into our habits of oppression pride and extravagance. We should be christians ourselves in reality, before we undertake to convert the heathen; and let the millenium begin at home, and *and first make its appearance in our lives and conversation*, before we look for it to burst out abroad by our instrumentality. Those who minister in holy things, should have clean hands—then

*Ere ye pluck motes from foreign eyes,
Out of your own, some plan devise.
To draw the massy beam.*

If slavery, as it exists in our country of boasted freedom, be justifiable, as our slave holding professors of republicanism and christianity seem to insinuate by their violent attachment to the practice, (seeing they call those *fools*, and sometimes worse names, who are laboring to effect a liberal and legal emancipation of the victims of bondage that are in our otherwise free country) why do they keep it a secret? Why do they keep the knowledge of the high privilege to themselves to die with them?

First Justice But Custom.

If slavery and slave-holding, be justifiable on the principles of the rights of man; of unsullied justice; of sound national policy; and of pure Gospel religion, let them, Nabob, Priest and Peasant, come out in public print with their strong reasons, and legal vouchers, if they have any, and not suffer the advocates for equal rights to remain in their folly, or die in ignorance. This none of them yet venture to do, notwithstanding the many provocations they have had from the tongues and pens of the friends of freedom.

Slavery, like the owl, is an inhabitant of darkness, and cannot bear the light.—It has its nest in the lurid regions of avarice, pride and monarchical despotism, where every tender sensibility of the human soul, falls an easy prey to the prowling passions of corrupt nature, which are under the influence of the demons of darkness, and the croaking vultures of the infernal regions; whose office is, to render the heart as unsusceptible of divine impressions, as an impenetrable rock of adamant!

Your's, in the bonds of fraternal affection.
IRENEUS.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

PROPHECY OF ISAIAH.

Comments on the predictions contained in the 13th Chapter of the Prophet Isaiah.

I have frequently perused the chapter above mentioned, and considered these extraordinary predictions, wherein woes are pronounced against a distant land, the description of which being very concise, may readily be passed over without considering its meaning. For the purpose of drawing the attention of others to those predictions, the following comments are made.

In the first place, is to be observed the exact fulfilment of many of the Prophecies of that Prophet, not only those concerning the Messiah, but other predictions wherein he was commissioned to pronounce woes against cities, nations and kingdoms; and there is no doubt but that in the appointed time the remaining part will be as completely fulfilled as those that are past, unless the people, as did the inhabitants of the great city Nineveh, avert the calamity by a sincere repentance. This alone can prevent the fulfilment of those woes which have been pronounced by the true Prophets upon a

transgressing people.

This great and enlightened servant of the Most High, saw in the visions of light, that a woe was impending upon a land that lay "beyond the rivers of Ethiopia,"—a land that was shaded with wings, by the trees of the forest, whose inhabitants sent ambassadors or agents in vessels by the sea, saying, "Go ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled; to a people terrible from their beginning; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled." These vessels being compared to those made of bulrushes for lightness, &c. The Prophet also saw, or was enabled to discover the country and people where those vessels were sent, being separated from the first by the sea, and different from each other also, one having vessels and the other none.

Revelations and prophecies were certainly intended for some good purpose, and are generally related in an ambiguous or figurative style, probably so as to prevent their being generally understood, until the time of their fulfilment, or until some circumstance takes place that may cause them to be more easily comprehended. Of this latter description, the predictions now under consideration are supposed to be; time having disclosed circumstances by which we are enabled to comprehend the meaning of the Prophet, which were unintelligible before the discovery of America by Columbus. We may now understand that America is the land against which the woe was pronounced. America lying in the direction mentioned, beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, from the land of Judea, the residence of the Prophet, in which direction we find there is no other country but this, which is indeed covered and shadowed by the shade of the forest when first discovered, and naturally described in the figurative speech of the Prophet, as being shadowed with wings. Other circumstances also unfolding to our view other parts of that chapter, since the settlement in the West Indies and on the continent of America, the practice of transporting the inhabitants of Africa into those settlements for slaves, clearly shew us for what purpose those agents were sent in vessels by the sea. We may clearly understand by this, that the Prophet foresaw the slave trade, and the woe that would fall upon the aggressors. The words of the people of the land by the Prophet were—"Go ye swift messen-

gers, to a people scattered and peeled; matted out and trodden down; to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto, whose lands the rivers have spoiled." The people and country are described in a few words, but the description is clear. It is in Africa we find such a people, and such a country; the negroes having been scattered and transported more than any other people—the word scattered, implying an involuntary removal; the other part of the description given by the word peeled, also co-incides with the situation of that people; for while under the whips of their cruel drivers and task masters, their bodies may literally be said to be peeled and torn; those people as described in the Prophecy were also matted out and trodden down, which is so much the case that it often furnishes the advocates of slavery with the argument of the negroes being such an abject people, they are fit for nothing but slavery, and therefore they say it is not unjust to oppress them. We also find in Africa a people who are terrible. Ishmael and his posterity was to be against every man, and every man's hand to be against them, and as they were from the beginning, so are they unto this day: they are numerous in that country, and from the accounts of travellers we are informed of the dread they have of falling in with a troop of wild Arabs of the desert, whose fleet horses enable them to attack and destroy whole caravans, and others passing through that country; they are a people who may be truly called terrible from their fierceness and hostility to all others, the deserts being to them a place of retreat and safety. Those extensive deserts of sterility being no doubt what is alluded to by the Prophet as the lands the rivers have spoiled, there being no such spoiled lands in any other part of the world. It is remarked by late travellers that those deserts have the appearance a considerable distance from the sea or any river, as though the waters had been over them at some remote period of time; some places appearing as though they had been the boundary of the ocean, and other places as though they had been the beds or channels of great rivers, but then dry. These several co-incidences strongly prove to the mind, that in this short chapter the slave trade is alluded to. We have but little communication with Africa, but in the work of oppression; and the American

vessels are noted for fast sailing. During the last year, a large number of vessels were on that coast, supposed to be chiefly American built, engaged in the slave trade; and were such swift sailing vessels, that a ship of war when upon a cruise in those seas, could come up with but few of them, which remarkably agrees with the words of the Prophet.—Who, after pronouncing the woe, describing the two countries principally concerned, and alluding to the crime, proceeds and calls upon all the inhabitants of the world and dwellers on the earth, saying, "*See ye when he lifteth up an ensign on the mountains, and when he bloweth a trumpet hear ye.*" This is a great and solemn appeal, and carries with it an evidence of an evil of the greatest magnitude, such as will justify an appeal to the whole world to witness the punishment that was to follow. He then proceeds, and speaking in the name of the Most High, says: "I will take my rest, and consider in my dwelling place like a clear heat upon the herbs, & like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest; for afore harvest, when the bud is perfect and the sour grape is ripening in the flower, we shall both cut off the sprigs with pruning hooks, and take away and cut down the branches, they shall be left together unto the fowls of the mountains, and to the beasts of the earth, and the fowls shall summer upon them and all the beasts of the earth shall winter upon them."—These calamities and cutting off were to take place at a time when a great prospect of prosperity, even as when the grape was already formed and ripening in the flower; yet notwithstanding these fair prospects there was to be no vintage, for he says, "the sprigs and branches of the vine shall be cut off, and shall be left together for the birds of the mountains and the beasts of the earth to summer & winter upon them," which conveys an idea of the extent of the destruction and calamity that was to fall upon this people. We find in scripture that after a nation or people were described under the figurative term of the vine and its branches, (and it is not to be doubted but that the Prophet is so to be understood in this place) that the cutting off of the sprigs and the branches of the vine was intended as descriptive of the great cutting off and destruction of the people of the land against which this woe was pronounced; and as the vine itself was not

to be destroyed, we may suppose that the destruction of the people or nation was not to be entire. This Prophet also alludes to the time when these fearful calamities shall take place. It being generally understood and believed by most of the religious part of society, from what we find in the scriptures of truth, that at the end of the great apostacy, after the man of sin has fully revealed himself, and every kind of wickedness has been committed, when all false doctrines have been advanced and promulgated, there will be a great and general call to righteousness and amendment of life throughout the world; comparable to the lifting up an ensign on the mountain, and the blowing a trumpet: at which time, it is also believed, that the Jews will be again restored to favor, and be made instrumental to bring many to the christian faith. The Prophet Daniel alludes to such a time, and says, "At that time shall Michael stand up, the great Prince, which standeth for the children of this people, and there shall be a time of trouble, such as there never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that are found worthy, or are written in the book," which we doubt not is the time alluded to by the Prophet Isaiah in the chapter under consideration. But we find by his predictions, that instead of our partaking of all the promises and blessings which are held out in the scriptures, for all those that are found worthy; at that time we are to be cut off and trodden under foot, as the unfruitful vine—and at a time when our prospects are most flattering, described as the coming vintage. How different at that time will be the situation of those people who are "scattered and peeled, trodden down and meted out;" for by the prediction contained in the last verse of this chapter, at this same time already referred to, this abject people instead of being cut off and trodden under foot by the fowls of the mountains, and the beasts of the earth, will be favored and found worthy to bring an "acceptable present unto the Lord of Hosts to Mount Zion."

We find an instance somewhat similar to this, and of such a reverse of situation in the case of the Egyptians, and also of the Jews. The Jews were invited to sojourn in the land of Egypt, but after a time the Egyptians transgressed the laws of hospitality and made them their

slaves, in which situation they were for about 400 years, and were held in abomination by their masters, who no doubt thought of them as we do at this day of the oppressed Africans, that they were but fit to be slaves; but mark the change that was brought about in due season, the Jews from their abject state became the most favored people, and the Egyptians were punished and destroyed, and are now at this time as was predicted by the Prophet, a base kingdom, and to be ruled by slaves. But have we not by far exceeded the criminality of the Egyptians? They compelled a people whom they found among them to be slaves, but we have gone far beyond in violence, we have crossed the wide ocean, by force have brought the people of another nation from their native shores, and after subjecting them to the risks, to the miseries and horrors of a long sea passage in crowded vessels, have sold them like cattle, like beasts, and thus doomed them to perpetual bondage, separating most near and dear relatives from each other, and breaking every tender tie. This was not the case with the Jews while in slavery to the Egyptians, they were permitted to live together in a part of Egypt allotted to them, yet the Egyptians were severely punished, and what may we not expect from our greater degree of injustice.

The coming of that great day alluded to is just approaching, and may now be near. It was predicted to come when the man of sin should be fully revealed, and when all kinds of wickedness had been committed, and perhaps the great evil of violating the natural and inherent rights of so many of our fellow creatures, may with other existing evils fill up the cup of iniquity to the brim, and hasten this terrible day of calamity. That it is not far distant, and that the time is at hand, for great changes to take place, is the opinion of many thinking and serious people. That we may be favored to see the situation we are in, and that we may for the future do all that is possible to be done, to undo the heavy burthen, and let the oppressed go free, and seek to find the true repentance, that will deliver us from all the woes which may be hanging over our heads, is the sincere desire of a well-wisher to his native country.

HERACLITUS.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE PEOPLE OF TENNESSEE.
 FELLOW-CITIZENS,

LET us take a retrospective view of the times that are past: let us compare them with the present. Some of us are old revolutionists, have fought and bled in establishing and defending our liberties. Prior to the day which tried men's souls, we could purchase land in a back-country for 10 or 20 dollars, sufficient to raise a growing family. The merchant, the rich farmer, and those who are well settled at home, are seldom found among the first adventurers; they cannot brook the hardships attendant on such an enterprise; the poor in obtaining a settlement, found a full reward for all their sufferings. In those times few tenants were found in a new country; every man could sit under his vine and under his plumb tree, and no haughty lord-land to make him afraid. And in old settled countries land could be rented at one half it can now. Let us next take a view of the times we live in, and see how great the contrast. And who needs be told that every land law passed of late, is in favor of the rich money-holder, and opens a door for speculation. In our own State land is set up at public sale, & struck off to the highest bidder. The monied part of the community flock to the sales thick as the locusts that devoured Egypt. They know the poor must live, that they must have land to work, and they can rent or lease on what terms they please. There is still unappropriated land in one section of our country, the Hiwassee purchase: petitions were presented last session to the Legislature to open an office for the unsold land there, giving a right of pre-emption to the actual settler, but this was not granted.—Had some rich man like I.***** or M.***** petitioned for themselves, they might have obtained a grant perhaps worth thousands of dollars.

Was I to undertake to point out the true cause of these political evils, as existing among us, I should ascribe it to the toleration of slavery. Men accustomed to tyrannizing over their fellows, for no other cause but because they differ from them in color, by little and little lose all the tender feelings of humanity, and accustomed to oppress all who are under their power, they are very unsafe hands to entrust the power of making laws for the government of a free people. "Slavery,"

says Montesquieu, "makes a man insensibly neglect every moral virtue, & becomes proud, passionate, hard hearted, violent and cruel." And although we are sensible of this truth, we fill our legislatures with persons who live and feed on the blood and sweat of their fellow-creatures. Slavery and oppression, when persisted in, have uniformly been punished with just judgments from heaven. The inhabitants of the old world were destroyed by a flood for their violence and oppression, after being warned by Noah a preacher of righteousness. Egypt was destroyed for oppressing the Hebrews after being warned by Moses. Nimrod appears to be the first after the flood who undertook to exercise authority over his fellow creatures, and was therefore called the mighty hunter before the Lord. God, alone, is entitled to the services of his intelligent creatures; he has created of one blood, all the nations that dwell upon the earth, and to him are we bound to render due obedience. But when God says, "Honor thy father and thy mother—children obey your parents—husbands dwell with your wives"—when he says, "train up your children in the way they should go," our modern Nimrods say, our commands shall be obeyed before God's! O ye Nimrods of Tennessee! ye mighty hunters before the Lord; erect a tribunal in your own breasts, before you are called to the tribunal of Him, whose prerogative you have assumed; judge yourselves by our Saviour's golden rule, for by this you must be judged. Would you be willing to labor for your slaves 10, 20 or 30 years without any pay but coarse clothes and poor diet? If you would, then keep your slaves:—But if you would not do this, remember, to God you are accountable; and if you are offenders in this point, all the curses of the whole law of God is levelled against you: For says St. James, "He that offendeth in one point, is guilty of transgressing the whole law."

That slavery is a moral evil, few will deny, & that it involves the nation which countenances it in guilt, needs no proof. Dr. Beatty says, "slavery is inconsistent with the most essential rights of man's nature. It is detrimental to virtue and industry; it hardens the heart to those tender sympathies which form the most lovely part of the human character. and is utterly repugnant to every principle of reason, religion, humanity and

conscience." Judge Tucker, of Virginia says, "Whilst we were offering up vows at the shrine of liberty, and sacrificing hecatombs upon her altars; whilst we swore irreconcilable hostility to her enemies; and hurled defiance in their faces; whilst we abjured the God of Hosts to witness this resolution to live free or die, and imprecated curses on their heads who refused to unite with us in establishing the empire of freedom; we were imposing on our fellow men a slavery ten thousand times more cruel than the utmost of those evils and oppressions of which we complained." Again, "But if the voice of reason, justice and humanity, be not stifled by sordid avarice or unfeeling tyranny, it would be easy to convince those who have entertained erroneous notions that the right of one man over another, is neither founded in nature nor sound policy. Will not our posterity curse the days of their nativity with all the anguish of Job? Will they not execrate the memory of those, who having it in their power to avert an evil, have like their first parents, entailed a curse upon all future generations? What a blood stained code must that be, which is calculated for the restraint of millions unjustly held in bondage! Such a spectacle must our unhappy country exhibit, within a century, unless we are wise and just enough to avert from posterity the calamity and reproach which otherwise are unavoidable." President Jefferson observes, that "the liberties of man are the gifts of God, and cannot be violated but with his wrath. I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering number, nature, and natural means only, a revolution in the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situations is among possible events—that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute that can take part with us in such a contest."

These and a thousand other passages containing similar sentiments, might be quoted from the writings of our greatest politicians, statesmen and philosophers. The preachers of almost every christian society, are warning us to do away this moral pollution. Alas! If the great & the pious in Europe and America, as if inspired with a divine sympathy, are endeavoring to do away the evil of slavery, and effect the emancipation of slaves. It would certainly be wisdom in us as a

people, to act justly, shew mercy, and extend to every one their natural rights. Let us remember that the cry of those who have reaped down our harvest and done our labor, have entered into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth. But we cannot expect to be blessed with just & equitable laws while we continue to fill our legislatures with such as are deaf to the calls of justice, mercy and humanity. He that will withhold from a black man his just and natural rights, will withhold the same from a white man, if he has it in his power. Let us then, fellow citizens, adopt some plan by which we may save our devoted country, and for which, generations yet unborn may bless our memory. Let us form ourselves into societies in every elective district within our State. Let it be their business to form a convention of delegates from each society, to meet at stated times, to form regulations to be carried into effect at each succeeding election. Let them fix on men of talents and good morals to serve in our legislatures and other public offices. Let no slave holder ever be elected throughout the State, unless he be known to possess republican principles and opposed to slavery. How can we look for the blessing of heaven whilst we suffer and encourage those blood-suckers, those pander of avarice, to pass unmolested through our country as they did last October; buying up droves of our brethren; tearing the husband from the tender embrace of the wife; the father from the child, and the child from the parents! Such a scene is enough to cause the tears to flow down Pluto's cheeks—and can a legislature that will suffer this, be a proper one with which to entrust our liberties? I trow not. A very popular objection to the emancipation of slaves, is, that were they set free, they would steal our property, plunder our houses, ravish our women, and in a little time there would be an uncommon mixture amongst us. Were this founded in truth, it would not follow that we should neglect a known duty; but it is very unlikely that they should be under greater temptation to steal when they have the whole year to work for themselves, than when they have not so much as one hour; or that they should be more disposed to indulge in lewdness when they have privilege to marry and live with their companions, than when they are not suffered to see them perhaps once a

month. The reverse has reason on its side. The female slave is entirely under the power of her master, and when she has a mulatto child, although there may be pains taken to make the world believe it belongs to some poor man's son, yet in most cases, it is more likely to be of their old or young master's begetting; and it is very probable if they were not slaves, there would not be half the mulattoes amongst us there now is.

Ye ministers of the gospel, of every denomination, to you it belongs to act the part of the good Samaritan. Here is a people "fallen among thieves," who have stripped them of their liberties, their better part, & left them in a dying state, both as regards the soul and body. To you it belongs to concert some plan for their cure. Ye circuit riders in particular, when going through your different circuits, much might be done by you to promote the plan here laid down, or some other that will be effectual in bringing about the desired event.

Let no society be charged with, or blamed for publishing this. I am not a member of any religious or manumission society whatever, but of the society of farmers.

THE FARMER.

From a Southern Correspondent.

TO THE EDITOR.

I take the liberty of sending you the enclosed, which, if you have no objection, I should be glad to see in your paper.—The article is not of very recent date, but will be read, no doubt, with interest.—You have my wishes for success in your laudable undertaking. Notwithstanding the fierce aspect and menacing front of the "Genius" of *Slavery*, there are thousands in the most violent of the slave States who are very hearty in the cause of "Universal Emancipation."

A FRIEND TO TRUTH.

Extract from a late paper.

Letters from *Port au Prince* of the 19th ult. state that the place had been in a bustle for several days, by the marching and counter-marching of troops destined to take possession of the Spanish part of the island, from all the principal towns in which deputations had been sent in, bearing testimonials of the adhesion to the government of the republic, under President Boyer.

The fiscal concerns of the Haytien government, must prove an object of won-

der and curiosity to modern financiers. It does not owe one cent, and has from ten to fifteen millions of specie in the treasury! the army of occupation, which will not exceed 10,000 men, will lessen the amount, but it will not be less curious that the black government of St. Domingo should be the only one in modern times, able to manage its concerns so as not to anticipate its income, and have funds in readiness for any important exigency.—Would it not be advisable in Mr. Monroe to import a secretary of the treasury from that island!

To the Editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

The following narration will tend to confirm the opinion, that "negroes possess strength of mind equal to the whites."

FORTITUDE.

At the siege of Yorktown, when the approaches were pretty far carried on, the troops mounted guard in the trenches by regiments. The Rhode Island regiment mounted one night, when the British kept up an incessant cannonade of round, grape and cannister shot. Two blacks were placed as sentinels together, upon the same spot; one sat down, the other laid upon his belly, to observe the motion of the enemy, and to give timely notice if they should attempt to sally.—When the relief came, the corporal found them both in the same position he had left them; on demanding of the one sitting why he did not rise, he answered laconically, "I believe, massa, I'se wounded, and I guess Cuffie dead, han't poke dis good wile." On examination Cuffie was really dead, a canister shot having entered his head, and poor Sambo had the bones of his leg and arm both terribly shattered. On carrying them within the lines, the surgeons found it necessary to amputate Sambo's leg; when the poor fellow was informed of it, he, with a true heroic spirit replied, "Well come massa, take um off—say no more about um." Having borne that with the patience of an Epictetus, he was informed it was absolutely necessary to take off his arm. Although under the most excruciating pains, when the surgeon began to condole him on his peculiar misfortune, he exclaimed, "Neber mind, take um off—thank God, I got noder arm left for um yet." Had he been a Roman, instead of an African, he would have been celebrated.

Nash. Freeman.

MUSES' BOWER

And Miscellaneous Department.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unravel the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

**A RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTAL
SLAVE-HOLDER.**



What sight is that I yonder see?
A suppliant with banded knee,
And high uplifted hands,
Hard by him stands in piteous plight,
A sable color'd captive wight,
Confin'd with iron bands.
Around his neck, I see a chain
Galling and bustling, causing pain,
That from him such extend,
His master kneeling by his side—
Devoutly too, 'tis not denied,
Fast holds it by the end
He holds his brother fast in woe,
And will not let the prisoner go,
Or set the captive free.
Thou' God to him the word hath spoke,
That he must break the galling yoke,
'Tis whiter men's blood
To be a Heathen, or a Jew,
Or Turk, or Christian—what say you,—
That holds this rascal's chain?
Did Jesus such example give,
Or teach his terrors to live
On others' honest gain?
He came, bid her in chains to bind,
The sable part of human kind,
That his disciples may
Their days in sumptuous living spend,
And when, on earth, their lives shall end,
Fly up to endless day?
Deception dire! if this your creed;
'I were well to look, and take good heed,
Lest Devils your works condemn;

For a less crime, we read, that he
Once rais'd his eyes in misery—
In everlasting pain.

COLUMBIAN BARD.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE EDITOR.

How many of the afflicted and oppressed of the Ethiopian race in our free republican country, have ejaculated the following, I will not take upon me to say; but it is certain that hundreds of thousands have had frequent occasion to do it. Passing the other evening by a hamlet "where haggard misery dwelt," I heard it repeated over and over, till memory fairly recognized it. A. B.

THE NEGROES' PRAYER.

A Almighty God! Thou only Saviour,
Lend to us a gracious ear,
Let poor slaves obtain thy favor,
Listen to the negroes' prayer.
Pardon all our great transgressions—
All the evils we have done:
Grant, O grant us, Lord, thy blessings,
For the sake of thy dear son.
Sooty thou not our abject station,
Doom'd to slavery and disgrace,
By the people of this nation,—
Brothers too, of human race?
Little rest to us is given,
Or in youth, or when we're old,
To toil and hardship, ever driven,
Pinch'd with hunger and with cold;—
Mought and sold like brutal creatures
Without pity, or redress;
Hard it is for human nature
To support, in such distress:—
Wives and children taken from us—
Wives of husbands oft bereft,
On what troubles come upon us,
And no gleam of comfort left;
Children parted from each other,
Sold and scatter'd far away,—
Save, O Lord, the tender mothers;—
Save the children too, we pray.
Bitter sighs, and lamentation,
Ereasing from each throbbing heart,—
Fragile nature shakes to its foundation,
When we thus are torn apart.
Christians are our sore oppressors,—
If it's right to call them so;—
Follow mortals our possessors,
And the cause of all our woe!
Christian tyrants buy and sell us,
Make us labor, starve and bleed;
 Oftentimes with sneers they tell us
Negroes never shall be freed;
Can it be, Almighty Saviour

That thou did'st our wo decree?
 Impious thought! no, never, never
 Was such deed ordain'd by thee.
 Thy laws extend to ev'ry nation—
 To the oppressing, and oppress'd;
 The first must suffer condemnation,
 And the latter be redress'd.
 All the world must stand before thee,
 Ev'ry tongue shall then confess
 That thou art the Lord of Glory,
 Judging men in righteousness.
 Grant our masters true repentance,
 Change their stony hearts to flesh;
 Kindle in them such relentings
 That they may no more oppress.
 Saviour, may thy Lamb-like spirit
 All the human race reform,
 Then shall all mankind inherit
 Rights to which they all were born.
 Saviour, pity our condition,
 Set the Ethiopians free,
 Let them offer their petition,
 "Stretching out their hands to thee!"*

*Psal, lxxviii. 34.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
 TO THE EDITOR.

I have taken the liberty to send another poetic effusion, the production of an "American Female." Its insertion in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, will very much gratify a constant reader.

ALONZO.

THE AFRICAN CHIEF.*

See how the black ship cleaves the main,
 High bounding o'er the violet wave;
 Remurm'ring with the groans of pain,
 And freighted with the princely slave!
 A chief from *Gambia's* golden shore,
 Whose arm a band of warriors led;
 A chief from whose abundant store
 Full oft the foodless *poor* were fed.
 Did all the Gods of *Afric* sleep,
 Forgetful of their guardian love,
 When the white traitors of the deep,
 Betray'd him in the palmy grove.
 Does not the voice of *Reason* cry,
 "Claim the first right that *Nature* gave,
 From the red scourge of bondage fly,
 Nor deign to live a burthen'd slave."
 Has not his suff'ring offspring clung,
 Desponding round his fetter'd knee,
 On his worn shoulder weeping hung,
 And urg'd oae effort to be free!
 His wife by nameless wrongs subdu'd,
 His bosom'd friend to death resign'd,

*Captured in arms, fighting for his freedom.

The stony path-way bath'd in blood,
 Pour'd tortures on his frantic mind.
 Stung by despair he sought the plain,
 To heaven uprais'd his starting eye,
 Claim'd freedom from the crushing chains
 Amid the battles rage to die.
 First of his race, he led the band,
 Guardless of dangers floating round,
 Till by his fierce avenging hand,
 Full many a despot stain'd the ground:
 As erst *Messenia's* sons oppress'd,
 Flew desperate to th' ensanguin'd field.
 With iron cloth'd each injured breast,
 And bid the haughty Spartan yield.
 Does not the soul to heav'n allied,
 Feel the full heart as greatly swell,
 As when the Roman *Cato* died,
 Or when the Grecian victim fell.
 If later deeds quick raptures raise,
 The boons of *Belgia's* patriots won,
Paoli's time enduring praise,
 Or the still greater *Washington*.
 If these command thy generous zeal,
 Who stem'd a tyrant's mad control,
 For bleeding *Gambia* learn to feel,
 Whose chieftain claim'd a kindred soul.
 Ah! mourn the last disastrous hour,
 Lift the red eye of bootless grief,
 While numbers throng the sultry shore,
 And tear from thence the captive chief.
 And while the race of pallid hue,
 Unpractic'd in the power to feel;
 Resign him to the murdering crew—
 The horrors of the quiv'ring wheel.
 Let sorrow bathe each blushing cheek,
 Bend piteous o'er the tortured slave,
 Whose wrongs *compassion* cannot speak,
 Whose only refuge is the grave.

†The *Messenians* being finally conquered by the Spartans, and the miserable remnant (according to the custom of the age) led into slavery, were so inhumanly oppressed and afflicted by their masters, that in an effort of despair, they united in arms, and seizing upon a fortress, after innumerable cruelties inflicted, obtained their freedom.
 ‡*Leonidas*.

From the New York Gazette.

We have seen a letter from Charleston of the 17th inst. of which the following is an extract:—

"You will doubtless hear many reports and exaggerated ones, respecting an insurrection among the Negroes. There certainly was a disposition to revolt

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

manifested, and some preparations made by plantation negroes, to attempt to take the city; but from the arrangements for defence made by us, there is now little *hopes* that the attempt will be made; and, if made, or fear of the result. I say *hopes*, because we did hope they would progress so far as to enable us to ascertain and punish the ringleaders, in an exemplary manner. I was ordered on duty last night, but the orders were afterwards countermanded, we however got very little sleep.³⁷

AGENTS.

The following named persons are requested to act as agents for this work, in their respective neighborhoods.—They are authorized to receive subscriptions and monies, for the Editor; and their receipts shall be valid against future claims, should any be made by him or his representatives.

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GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 2.—Vol. II.

EIGHTH MONTH, 1822.

WHOLE No. 14.

TO THE PATRONS OF THIS WORK.

The present, as well as the preceding number of the second volume, are forwarded generally to such as had not specified the time for which they became subscribers. All who are disposed to continue their names on the subscription list, will please to pay the price of the second volume to such persons as are authorized to act as agents (See No. 1, Vol. 2.) or remit the same to the editor. It may be sent by mail, at his risk.

Should any to whom the work is sent decline to continue as subscribers, they will please wrap up the different numbers carefully, as newspapers generally are, to be transmitted by mail, and return them to the editor without delay.—The continued increase of new subscribers, the most of whom take the work by the volume, renders it a matter of importance that none of the papers should be lost. Tho' a considerable number of copies more are struck than are requisite to meet the present demand, it is probable they may all be wanted before the end of the year.

The poem headed "*Republic of Colombia*," in this paper, is that to which the premium offered some time since, has been awarded.

MEXICO.

The latest information from Mexico as connected with the subject of negro slavery, is truly of the most pleasing nature. With that portion of the American continent, we have been comparatively but little acquainted. For my own part, I had expected that the slaves therein were very numerous; I looked upon it as the strong hold of despotism, in which the monster of oppression would long maintain its ground. But I am happy to find that I was very much mistaken, and feel myself warranted in the hope that unconditional slavery, or involuntary servitude will ere long be completely abolished in the Mexican dominions.

It is asserted by travellers, that the

number of slaves in that country do not exceed ten thousand, 4000 of whom are native Indians, and the remainder, about 6000, Africans and their descendants.—This is but *one eighth* of the amount of slaves in the single state of Tennessee. And several of the counties in Virginia, contain a greater number.

Although the present government of Mexico may be considered a limited monarchy, it is not to be expected that such a state of things will be of long continuance. The light of reason and philosophy has penetrated the thick gloom of clerical superstition, and thousands are awakened to a sense of the reality of their situation, determined to be released from the odious enthrallment of avarice and ambition. It may reasonably be expected that the people of that country will very shortly follow the example of Colombia, and establish their government upon a more rational basis than it now is.

The following extracts will throw some light upon the subject of their present disposition, respecting the question of slavery. The first is from the *Arkansas Gazette*, and the second from the *Mexican Sun*.—The latter is headed "*Political reflections on the Island of Cuba*," and as will be seen, relates to its future policy in case of a separation from the Spanish government.

Little Rock, Ark. June 25.

Texas.—The rage for emigrating to Texas is beginning to subside. Our last accounts from that country, represent those who have lately settled there, as being under considerable alarm, in consequence of a late measure adopted by the Mexican Congress, which prohibits the holding of slaves in the Mexican empire. This measure of itself will terminate as a material check to the emigration from the United States, and particularly from the southern and western states. *Gaz.*

From the Mexican Sun.

Should the island not be able to maintain an independent existence, and look for protection among the different governments that surround her, there will

be found a considerable drawback to her decision in the circumstance of the empire not yet having a constituted and established government; so long as the permanent stability of the government is not assured, it is not to be expected she would throw herself into our arms; for hearts new to liberty are as easily frightened as youth in its first love. On the other hand, the equality declared amongst all ranks, and the abolition of slavery which would always be feared from a foreign government, beneath whose general laws they would be obliged to live, is another of the inconveniences difficult to avoid, as the immense capital vested in slaves, would thereby be lost to its possessors.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

NO. V.

February, 1822.

Endeared Sophy,

After parting with my political disputants, noticed in my fourth letter, I took a turn amongst some of that class of people who make more than an ordinary profession of religion, where, from the reports I had heard of the great revivals in many places, I flattered myself that I should see among them, much of those fruits of holiness which are the only testimonials of genuine christianity. I was received by them with great civility, and accompanied some of them to the "house of God," where a great meeting for worship had been appointed. The house, which was spacious, stood on a rising ground, from whence I could see in different directions, the numerous worshipers moving on with cautious steps towards the sacred spot—"deep mysteries to learn!" Surely, thought I, my lot has fallen to me in pleasant places—I have a goodly inheritance in this sanctuary of devotion!"

Several of the clergy filled the "sacred desk," but the one whose name was *Tyrannus Clericus*, took the lead in the public administrations, and thundered out the terrors of the law against the perpetrators of some kinds of sins in the most terrific style.—Inhumanity, injustice, oppression, avaricious covetousness, the not doing to others, as we would that they should do to us upon change of circumstances, extortion, and unfair dealing, made no part of his catalogue of crimes, but drunkenness, swearing, fighting, uncleanness, sabbath breaking, gamb-

ling, and the like, were the sins against which his pious denunciations were leveled. After *Clericus* had cleared his skirts of the above class of sinners, and had told them their doom, in case they continued in their present impenitence, he turned to the *believers*, and spoke in very pathetic terms of the glories that were just before them, and which, in a few more revolving seasons, they would be in the full fruition of; and then concluded with a hymn or song suited to the occasion, sung in a new and elevating tune—when immediately the people were all in motion—acclamations of joy, and heterogeneous sounds, more especially among the female part of the congregation, put to silence every thing besides! Many professed to be filled with the Holy Ghost or love of God, among whom was the wife and daughters of *Tyrannus Clericus*, with those of some of the other clergymen, and several of the lady looking females, and others from among the laity:—*Clericus* himself appeared to be elevated to the highest pinnacle of exultation, to think that his ministry had been clothed with such power from on high, as to produce so happy an effect on the congregation.

O what a pentecost is this! exclaimed I to myself, and what abundance of the fruits of justice and holiness do these bear that are thus filled with the Holy Ghost—surely they exemplify the halcyon days of apostolic purity!

After the sacrament had been administered, and the public service ended, the congregation was dismissed, and friend *Clericus* and his lady, very politely invited me home with them to dinner, and to spend the evening in religious conversation, which invitation I thankfully accepted. I must not omit noticing here, that though the meeting house was capacious, and would have contained many more than were in it, there was not one of the many *blacks* which I had seen assembling that occupied any part of the house, excepting that once in a while a negro, or mulatto girl would bring in a child to its mother, or come in and carry a white child out; but not one coloured person could I discover on a seat.—When I had gone home with the clergyman and his family, I discovered a number of slaves about his house and kitchen; and when we had dined, I took the freedom to ask him in the presence of the family, and a clergyman, who was also a guest, the reason why the slaves

refused to go in the house and join in divine service?—he replied that they were not suffered to go in and mix with decent genteel people; for his part, he should always exclude them from that privilege where he had authority,—that having naturally a strong scent or disagreeable smell, there were but few persons of delicate sensibility that could bear to be near them, and therefore they should be kept at a respectable distance from their betters. This harangue silenced me for the present; but as I had seen a number of them in the gentleman's house attending on the table, taking away, and handing dishes, bread, &c. and some of them not of the most cleanly appearance, I wondered how it had happened that the effluvia which arises from these ill-scented beings, had not turned the *squeamish stomachs* of some of these delicate gentry wrong side out; but no complaint of that nature was uttered while we were at dinner! After recovering a little from the perturbation into which my clerical host had thrown me, I ventured to give it as my established opinion, that *religion and slave holding are unconnected, and cannot both at once be assimilated in the same person.*

This awkward attempt had like to have brought me into uncomfortable business, for the gentleman, his lady, and daughters, who but a few hours before were so filled with the Holy Ghost that they could hardly live, were now as full of the unholy spirit of resentment at the rude assault I had made upon their delicate feelings, and hitherto undisturbed consciences, and I soon discovered that I must either fight, or retreat. The other clergyman, I found, was opposed to slavery, and I understood that several, both of the clergy and laity who were at the meeting, were also much opposed to slave holding, however, they all joined as heartily in communing together, as if they had been of "one heart, & one soul." So true it is that multitudes of professors take religion in the gross, and upon the credit of others, & implicitly conform to the customs and formalities of the sect or party whose creed they have espoused, without ever minutely examining for themselves. Though my fellow guest was on my side, we were still greatly outnumbered; but recollecting that "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong," we concluded to stand our ground, and maintain our cause as well

as we could. Our religious antagonists were very clamorous in the defence of slave holding, and produced the same arguments in its favour, as are usually brought by slave holders, and which have been as often refuted,—such as the customs of former ages, the example of Abraham; the licence given to the Jews, &c. with a new and invincible argument—"that if it was wrong, or a sin for them to hold slaves, God would not fill them with the Holy Ghost, and make their souls so happy as he often did."

My clerical friend who took sides with me in the controversy, observed, that the christian religion is not only a "system of faith and worship," but that it is also a system of holiness, *Justice, mercy, humanity, love, and the purest morality, all combined*; and that whatever men do that cannot be fairly and fully reconciled to one or more of these divine attributes, cannot be compatible with religion, and of course must be offensive in the sight of God. He further observed, that slavery and slave holding is a *righteous* thing, or that it is an *unrighteous* thing, there being no medium,—that it is also a *holy* thing, or that it is an *unholy* thing,—that it can be supported upon the purest principles of *justice and equity*, or that it will be condemned by them,—that it is consistent with loving our neighbour as ourselves, or that it is the reverse,—that it is doing to others, as we would that they should do to us, on a change of circumstances, or that it is not; that it is justifiable upon the principles of the purest morality, or that it is opposite to them,—and finally, that it is conformable to the whole *spirit, tenor, and principle* of the *Gospel of Christ*, or that it is contrary to every attribute of the *divine Redeemer!*

Our reverend host acknowledged that the introduction of Africans into our country for the purpose of enslaving them was very wrong, it being an act of violence, robbery, and great injustice, on the part of those that brought them,—an act which nothing short of the most avaricious disposition could have inspired; but now they were here, and had become lawful property, he could see no moral evil in keeping them in bondage.

My friend replied, that as Solomon had asserted that no one can bring a *clean* thing out of an *unclean*, he was very certain, that as African Slavery was introduced among us on the principles

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of violence, robbery and injustice, that neither time, law, or custom, can ever make clean or sanctify that, which was wicked, and abominably unjust in its beginning!—The imported Africans, he said, had been robbed of their *unalienable rights of liberty and equality* by the christian marauders who brought them from their native soil; and those who hold their descendants in bondage, with hold by the same violence these *heaven born rights* from their rightful owners; and that he believed an action of *Trover* is now lying in the high court of *Eternal Justice* against every slave holder in the nation!

Our opponent observed that *Clericus Justitia* (for that was the name of the other clergyman) had drawn the cords of scripture, and his logical reasoning on the nature of religion closer about him than he had been aware of; but why, said he, would the Almighty fill those who are Slave holders, as well as others, with such transports of heavenly joy, as had been witnessed to day, if Slave holding is a sin?

Justitia said that the human heart was susceptible of seduction, and very liable to be deceived in things that are desired, by resting its hopes on wrong principles, and taking that for evidence of the expected good, which has nothing for its foundation but mere imagination void of an auxiliary virtue to support it. He believed that men and women of lively imaginations, strong passions, and of a chimerical turn of mind, with the help of an animating discourse, followed by the words of a song composed to suit the circumstance, and sung in a sprightly melting tune, frequently work themselves up into raptures and ecstasies which they mistake for divine communications, while the whole tenor of their lives and conversation, both before, and afterwards, give the lie to their most frantic professions.—He did not consider these flights of fancy to be any evidence of religion in those who are under their influence, any more than he considered the pretention of all who professed the christian name, to be evidence of their being christians in reality; yet he did not doubt that many persons, women especially, who were in the possession of religion in reality, had sometimes been agitated by these flights of the imagination, though their fruits of righteousness, holiness, and moral rectitude were as in-

dependent of these airy visions, as if they had never existed.

Justitia now informed *Tyrannus Clericus* that he would allow him some time to reconcile the practice of Slave holding with the pure principles and attributes of the christian religion, as above specified, and if he could fairly reconcile them together as *one compact holy system of faith and practice*, that then, he would renounce his opinions, and become a Slave holder,—but added, that he bid defiance to the reconciliation.

We now took our leave of the *Slave holding preacher* and his family, after cordially requesting each other to reconsider the subject which we had been discussing.

From your affectionate brother.

IRENEUS.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE EDITOR.

I again take up my pen for the purpose of making a few remarks on the various plans proposed for the abolition of slavery in the United States. In my first communication, I confined myself almost wholly to that suggested by "A Marylander," as I consider it the most objectionable of any I had seen in your paper. Slavery is a subject which involves the most important consequences; and in proposing plans for its abolition, the greatest care should be taken that all its probable tendencies should be well considered, before they are presented to the public; for one inadvertant step on the part of the friends of emancipation may take a thousand to retrieve it—as a person on the verge of an awful precipice, by a single step, may plunge himself into the abyss of ruin. Many plans have lately been proposed; no one of which, perhaps, will be carried into operation exactly as proposed;—yet, among the whole, no doubt, measures have been suggested amply sufficient for the attainment of the desired object. If I can assist in pointing out such parts of the plans above mentioned as are impolitic, and in separating the chaff from the wheat, I think I shall do something towards contributing my mite in effecting the humane purpose.

Your 3d number contains a plan from the St. Louis Enquirer signed "Howard," which, in some respects may answer very well; but Howard is too precipitate. He wishes to have the slaves free almost

Piat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

immediately; yet he does not point out any means for educating them; considering the present state of things, they might as well remain in slavery. He mentions nothing of colonizing a portion of them; a measure which must inevitably be adopted, in order to ensure the safety of our government.

In the same number there is a plan from the Philanthropist recommending an estimate of an equalized population of white and coloured people; then for each state to take its quota of blacks. It might be well enough for some compromise of this kind to take place between the slaveholding and the nonslaveholding states. But how much less would be the expense of transporting blacks from Georgia to Maine, than that of sending them from the United States to Hayti. Certainly no great deal. By sending them to the latter place, we would free ourselves from any danger that might arise from having too many of them among us; and we would likewise make their condition far preferable to the free blacks which are now in this country.

More anon.

COMMON SENSE.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

TO EDITOR.—Ever since I have had the capacity to think and act for myself, I have always deprecated the horrors of domestic slavery. I conceive it to be the greatest curse that ever was entailed upon this otherwise happy country, and regret exceedingly that our wise and philanthropic statesmen cannot devise some efficient plan to rid us of this stain upon our national escutcheon. That there are slave holders among us who are good worthy citizens and humane masters, is most true; but it is also true there are many others, both male and female, that are nothing less than monsters in human shape. This latter assertion I am justifiable in making from the following circumstance, which I am credably informed took place in a neighboring town not fifty miles from Greenville. A poor negro woman, a slave, with an infant at her breast, was first knocked down with a shovel, by her most humane mistress, and not content with this, to the disgrace of her sex, be it said, she influenced her husband to take the poor wretch into the cellar, strip her & inflict on her bare back, (as near as

the neighbors could guess who heard it) about fifty lashes! There was a spectacle—a woman stript with her breasts flowing with milk, and a monster in the shape of a man beating her without mercy or compassion—O Tempora! O Mores!

The great offence that this poor creature committed was, as I have been informed, merely giving a neighboring negro woman a cup of warm coffee at the camp meeting, which was recently held in Washington county. It appears it was not because she did not wish the negro to have the coffee; but because it was given to her before her ladyship had risen from the table. A.

MANUMISSION SOCIETY.

The President's address to the eighth convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee; held at Friends meeting house, Lost Creek, Jefferson county, on the 12th and 13th days of the eighth month, (August) 1822.

FELLOW LABORERS IN THE CAUSE OF SUFFERING HUMANITY:

Through the interposition of a kind Providence, I have the pleasure of meeting you at this Convention, which is the eighth of our benevolent Institution, of which you are members and advocates.

Having been again promoted by this Convention to the important station of President, the complete fulfilment of the trust, I feel my inadequacy to perform, yet, I hope I shall, to the best of my abilities, discharge the several duties of my appointment.

This Convention has now met for the purpose of adopting the best measures for promoting the great object of the Manumission Society of Tennessee; which is the *gradual abolition of slavery* in our country. The progress of said society (which you represent) as far as has come to my knowledge since the last convention, has had a favourable appearance. The public mind seems to be more and more enlightened, and in favor of liberty; notwithstanding the discouragements the active members had to experience from those who have become dead, or lukewarm, and the cause of truth & justice has been progressing, tho' much retarded.

Among the several subjects that will come before you, the following will make a part: I would recommend to this Con-

That Justice Be Not Denied.

vention to adopt the most effectual measures in its power, for stirring up those members of our humane body who have settled down in a state of inactivity.

I am persuaded, that if each member of the Manumission Society, would only moderately use the influence he is endowed with by his creator, with the citizens of this state, that justice and humanity would, ere long, triumph over prejudice and oppression, and that tyranny and despotism would sink into oblivion.

I would recommend to this Convention, the propriety of soliciting the ensuing session of Congress on the great subject of emancipation, praying in the most impressive terms for its co-operation and support, in the removal of the evil of slavery from our republican government.

This Convention being composed of persons, who are members of most, if not all the religious societies in our state; I propose to your serious Consideration, the expediency of calling on each society of Christians, and on each humane & benevolent institution, as far as practicable, to co-operate with the Manumission Society of Tennessee in petitioning the State Legislatures, but more particularly, the Congress of the United States to pass laws for the gradual abolition of slavery. The grand object can be brought about in mercy by the consent of the people, & the best and wisest measures which the convention can pursue to gain the minds of the inhabitants, should be put in operation without delay; and as all religious societies agree that slavery is an evil of enormous magnitude. It yet seems that most of them need convincing of their duty as Christians, in using their best endeavors to remove the evil by soliciting, as above, the several Legislatures to pass laws for the melioration of their oppressed coloured brethren, who are not permitted to plead their own cause:—certainly, Christians of all denominations will not hesitate in lending their co-operation. The time seems now to have arrived, that each denomination of Christians, and each individual member thereof, who stands mute, or that approbates the iniquitous practice of slavery, are partakers, encouragers, and co-workers in the crime of involuntary servitude, and in all the concomitant evils which attend it.

I am aware that it is contended by some, that Congress has no power to in-

terfere with slavery, as practised in the United States of America: from what source such an opinion is cherished by christians, I am not able to point out, unless it takes its rise from the fountain of avarice or self interest. Congress is undoubtedly vested with full & complete power to mitigate slavery in several ways:—Congress has power to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia at least, over which that body claims the sole privilege of making laws; and it would be doing no more than what justice would require, for the National Legislature to pronounce the *jubilee*, and declare by law that there should be no more slaves born in that district.

Should Congress become unanimous in that, from the same righteous principle it will follow (as I conceive) that it has full power to put the declaration of American Independence fully into operation by declaring that there shall be no more slaves born in the United States of Republican America.

Congress can do much to abolish Slavery by laying such tax or fine on every person, both buyer and purchaser, who are guilty of separating the husbands and wives of their coloured brethren; or by any other means whatever, as would discourage that inhuman practice among Christians.

Likewise, Congress has full power of laying such fine or tax on all those who are guilty of worse than the savage custom of driving human flesh, and souls of men to market in chains, from one state or territory to another.

It becomes then, the duty and the business of this Convention to consider the expediency of petitioning Congress on the subject.

I would further recommend to your consideration, the propriety of encouraging the scheme of a humane Missionary operation for promoting the great cause of this institution; and adopt the best measures under your control, to stimulate the members of the society, which you respectively represent, to be active in procuring signers to the petition praying for the gradual abolition of slavery, and to produce them to next convention in order that they may be laid before the next ensuing state Legislature. The public mind is so fully convinced of the evils of slavery, and the impolicy of its existence in a free government, that if the advocates of justice use prudent ex-

Fit Justitia Ruit Coram.

ertions, there may be thousands of signers procured to said petitions in the course of the ensuing year; and without which, this object of the institution cannot be carried into effect, at that period.

I would call the attention of this constituted body, to the expediency of recommending to the several branches of the society, that in future elections for members of the several Legislatures, and for Governor, that they endeavor to be unanimous in giving their suffrage to men who declare themselves in favor of liberty.

I also consider it necessary, that this Convention advise the several branches of this Society, to be cautious in admitting or receiving members who are slave holders, as there may be a danger of injuring the cause thereby. And further to impress on their minds the necessity of attending to the requisitions of our humane Constitution, and to guard against too frequent changes in carrying on our object, or neglecting it in aiding any other institution, which may lead down into a state of inactivity.

These, with other particulars which may claim your serious attention, I submit to you, with a desire that you may seek the best wisdom to direct you in transacting the important business which may come before you.

JAMES JONES.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

AN ADDRESS

Of the eighth annual convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, to the respective Branches.

Friends and Fellow Laborers,

This convention of the Manumission Society now in session, claim it their duty once more to address you on the all-important and interesting subject of slavery. We believe man to be a rational and intelligent being, bound by the Laws of the Supreme Being, to regard each other as members of one great family, and act toward one another by a plain system of justice; which we find implied in the capacities man possesses. It intelligence to know, and capacities to enjoy this right, imply a design of the Supreme Being to forbid brother to invade the right of brother, this Law must extend to all beings of the same species & capacities. Therefore, as all the human race possess the same kind of affections, passions, appetites and other capa-

cities, which go to constitute their subjects and secure the protection of the same system of government; we feel impelled by our conceptions of right and wrong, to view slavery as a daring attempt to dethrone that justice which guards against the right to prostrate every claim that gives security to man, to arrest the sceptre from the moral governor of the world, and bury all laws human and divine, in the devouring vortex of ambitious power.

Under this view of the subject, we would exhort you by all the advantages which result from maintaining civil society among intelligent beings, that you go on firmly to vindicate those rights of man which his Creator has designed to mark the dignity of his nature, and in the enjoyment, of which alone, he is capable of performing the duties, and attaining the happiness of a moral agent. Every enlightened American looks up with sacred veneration to that guardian of his happiness which declares that all men are equally free, he believes it to stand on the broad basis of justice, supported by the laws of nature, and of nature's God. Every consistent christian receives with complacency and delight, that declaration which will stand forever good, that it is the duty of all men to do unto others, as they would that others should do unto them. Shall then the Columbian patriot and the christian stand unmoved and behold slavery, like some infuriated demon, invading the garden of human happiness, to hew down his choicest trees, & destroy his wholesome fruits.

Shall they not rather use every exertion in their power to oppose this mighty invasion which is trampling down the prospects, and impairing the character of the most illustrious nation on the globe; which, though it may have grown to an enormous size; and presents itself in fearful forms, and has surrounded its tents with formidable works; yet we believe that he who first ordained the rights of man, is able to guard them still, and to roll back the boldest flood of oppression to its native oblivion. We believe that this same Omnipotent arm has begun to move his deep designs, and is calling forth those agents by which he means to effect his purpose. From the view of these important events to be accomplished by Divine energy, attached to human agency, the aspect, the benevolent cause it appears to wear, and the

probable means by which it will be effected. This convention recommend the Branches engaged in this all-important work, to keep their ensign hoisted on which it is written that slavery is wrong; and to shew that it is in the power of every branch, and every individual, to aid in moving on this mighty work; they offer the following reasons—

First. In a government like ours, where the supreme power is vested in the sovereign people, to obtain a legislative measure, the first great object is to gain the consent of the people; but born as we are, where slavery shades the first ray that meets our opening eyes, and from thence attends the path to our tomb, its ghastly features are veiled in a familiar garb, and we are likely never to examine whether it be right or wrong; in this state of things, the bare existence of a Manumission Society, is an important thing; it raises a kind of ensign with something like this inscription, "Slavery is wrong, it is an unreasonable violation of justice, and opposed to our own best interest"—This naturally excites an enquiry in the beholder, whether these things be so or not? And where is the man who can unfold the vesture of slavery with an impartial hand, and behold no impolicy, cruelty and oppression there? But we conceive that no branch has done its utmost when it barely preserves its existence.—Man is a social being, with a mind capable of being influenced by motives.—Therefore, each member of a branch can go on to acquire such information as may be in his power, relative to the cause he is engaged in, and use his degree of influence toward convincing the world that slavery is wrong.

A second object, and one which we conceive to be an important one, is, for all the branches to endeavor to establish new branches within their borders.—Bare probability of success, should merit an attempt, as perhaps in very few cases, the exertions of a committee for that purpose, will fail doing some good; if the first object is not attained, some enquiry may be awakened, and some information given, which may result in softening the prejudices of some persons.

A third object, which we recommend to all the friends of humanity is, to use their suffrages as far as possible in promoting such men to seats in the legislature, as they have the best evidence to suppose will support the great cause of

gradual emancipation.

The fourth object, which we would recommend, is one in which we feel confident that every member has it in his power to contribute to the success of the cause; although the operations of the Manumission Society, have been conducted so as to incur as little expence as possible, yet all must know that some expence must necessarily be incurred—to defray which, this convention respectfully solicit the contribution of at least 12½ cents. By the unanimous contribution of this small sum, by each member, the cause will be much advanced; which money the treasurers of the branches are requested to forward as soon as possible, to the treasurer of this convention. We further recommend to the presidents of each branch, that they, at every meeting, endeavor to give as explicit a statement of the designs and views of the Society, and the manner in which they wish to accomplish their ends; and all the branches collectively and individually, to use every means in their power to gain information themselves, and communicate information to others, concerning that cause which we feel willing to submit to the candid and impartial investigation of reason, justice and all the inherent rights of man, at any time, in any place or form.

We would conclude this address, by soliciting each branch to adopt the most effectual methods in their power to procure signers to the petitions designed to be laid before the state legislature—through which we hope finally to obtain our great object.

JAMES JONES, *President.*

Attest,

JOHN COULSON, *Clerk pro. tem.*

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

THE MODERN LISTENER

To his correspondent. No. VIII.

[Series begun in the M. Intelligencer.]

SIR,—Although I am under a slight promise in a former communication, to say something on your second sermon, yet I hardly know where to begin; but being encouraged by the wise man's words where he says: "better is the end of a thing, than the beginning,"—Such, I hope, will be your efforts, as an individual, in the cause of humanity; and such I hope, will be the exertions of the manumission society of Tennessee, and of every association of the kind on the con-

Piat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

continent of America, and in every other part of the world.

Your second sermon brings into view, two of the most popular evils or sins in our country: first, Slavery, and secondly, the distilling of spirits, or vending them, & drunkenness.—I lump them together, and by a simple syllogism, prove that I have a right so to do:—*Drunkenness is a crime forbidden in sacred writ; but those who are in the habit of drinking spiritous liquors, will, sooner or later, get drunk; therefore, he who makes, vends, or gives spiritous liquors so that any get drunk, is guilty of a crime forbidden in sacred writ.* Now distillers and venders of spirits may turn it as they can, yet it is evident, to me, that they are guilty, at least indirectly, of all the drunkenness that has taken place in consequence of the improper use of that spirit,—as the cause of a cause, is the cause of its effects. I said these evils were popular: first, because they are so general, and secondly, because some, it may be, make no estimate of a man's greatness, or, perhaps goodness, only from the number of slaves he has, and the great distillery he keeps in operation; or from his having a store, where they may get any kind of liquors, and be liberally treated by the generous merchant, especially if they will but deal largely in light goods; which if they do, in some cases they are furnished gratis with as much as they please to drink, and some get drunk, and perhaps lose part or all they had bought, and then go home, and fall out with the wife and children, and abuse the poor negroes, and be in an ill humor for a week. Such are the numbers of dependants on these slave holding, and liquor vending gentry, that the form of our government is in danger of being changed from that of Republican to an aristocracy. By dependants, I do not mean those only, whom we term tiplers and idlers—perhaps I might say, vagrants, or worse than infidels, who provide not for their own houses; neither those bordering on bankruptcy, who often purchase to keep up their credit, fearing if they should slacken, their insolvency would be suspected; but alas! how many of our highly estimated institutions, such as Bible Societies, Missionary Societies, &c. are dependant on them; and, may I not say, that the general prevailing christianity of our day, is dependant on them; for is it not a fact, that many are taught to be ministers or

preachers, at the expense and sweat of slaves? and how many of the poor negroes are pinched for bread, that spirits may be made to get money to defray the contingent expenses of students of this class? And how many ministers are there who never became preachers in this way, that are of so compromising a spirit, that they can with cheerfulness receive in money, clothing, and diet, &c. &c. the hard earnings of the poor slaves from their masters, and sometimes, their labor too, and never give the poor negro a cent for it; or ever once hint to the oppressor that he is wrong, in thus oppressing his fellow being, though they may have had as good an opportunity of doing it in the absence of the slaves, as you had when you preached your two Sermons. I said, "in the absence of the slaves"—because, in the course of my *listening*, I have heard much said in opposition to preaching against slavery in the presence of slaves:—Some say that it is both useless and cruel to be haranging (as they term it) in the presence of slaves—that the slaveholder is sure to get angry, and wreak his vengeance on his unoffending blacks, and this by way of retaliation on the preacher;—that it is worse for the slaves to be hearing about their rights, making them still more uneasy and restless; and that some real misdemeanor may result from such intelligence, which may make the oppressors' rod heavier upon many of their already lacerated backs.

I shall here take the liberty to make some observations on an act of Assembly, passed in 1803:—How wise, or how good that Legislature was, I know not, but the constitutionality of that act, I very much doubt:—True, the words of the act are very specific in their explanation of inflammatory words; yet I suppose if a case of that kind is ever tried on constitutional principles, that the prosecutor or State, must pay the cost. If slavery makes such an act necessary in what is called a free government, which, where magistrates, Legislators, &c. are sworn to support constitutions, whose principles are in direct opposition to every kind of oppression, it is evident to me that slavery is wrong, or else those constitutions, and the Bible are wrong; and if so, then the ministers or preachers who derive their doctrines from that blessed book are wrong also; for that book says: "cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully." And in that book, ministers

are commanded to declare the whole counsel of God?" But that act goes to say, "the minister shall not say any thing in favor of general, or special emancipation; true, the term "minister" is not in the act; but it says, "if any person,"—which must necessarily include ministers, they being persons; and do they not gather from the Bible, that to do justice, love mercy, and to walk humbly with God, is a part of his counsel? and how can this subject be fairly, and without hypocrisy, illustrated, without speaking words directed to, or in favor of emancipation? again, the scripture saith *love worketh no ill his neighbour*: the preacher would say;—*no ill to his person, his character, his property, no, nor to his liberty.*—That's enough, says a certain character, —I know what he means—it is that I should liberate my slaves, and I have a mind to indict him! Be it so. But here the preacher read, for the instruction of his congregation, the 58th chapter of Isaiah, & when he comes to the 6th, verse, he reads with a particular emphasis: "*undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke &c.*" Now I think these words are directed to general, & special emancipation; of course it is a breach of the act to read them in the presence of slaves; he ce, I conclude that the act not only prohibits the speaking by way of illustration on the most important points of christian duty, such as justice, and mercy, but from uttering words—that is, in plain English, from reading the scriptures in the presence of slaves, that contain words forbidden in the act. Now, if the constitution of our country coincide with the Bible, in opposition to oppression, the act must be wrong, and slavery, that makes such an act necessary, must be wrong; then of course, those who made it, must have been wrong;—and all those who feel a real desire to do unto all men, as they would that men should do to them, believe that slavery, the act, and them that made it, are all wrong, and so do I. Adieu.

MODERN LISTENER.

Extract of a letter of Judge Toulmin, of Alabama, published in the (London) Monthly Magazine for April.

"I enclose you a specimen of the language of my neighbors, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians.

"I made out this list in the Choctaw

nation, about nine years ago, and the occasion was this: I had a short time before, received a letter from Judge Innis, of Frankfort, Kentucky, informing me that, in the year 1784, as some Southern Indians were passing through Lexington, to join the American army north of Ohio, an African negro was driving a wagon through the streets of Lexington, when seeing some Indians, and hearing them converse, he suddenly stopped his wagon and asked his master's permission, (who was riding near him,) to go and speak to the Indians. They were probably the first he had seen in America; they conversed together with apparent ease, to the astonishment of Mr. Parker, his master. He enquired of the negro how he could converse with the Indians; who told his master that he was a native of the town of Goldean, in Africa; that while he was a boy, the negroes brought in some prisoners, and detained them there a long time, in consequence of which he learnt their language. He said that they were people of the same color, with the same kind of long black hair, and spoke the same language with the Indians then present.

"For the purpose of examining more minutely into this affair, being on a journey into Kentucky, I made a list of the words enclosed, with the assistance of an intelligent half breed. There is, however, great difficulty in catching the sound of the words so distinctly as to be able to spell them with accuracy. No two persons, perhaps, would spell them alike. On reaching Kentucky I found to my mortification that the negro was dead; Mr. Parker, however, confirmed the above account, and a neighbor of his, Preston Brown, Esq. informed me that there were other African negroes in the neighborhood, who, though not previously acquainted with our Indians, could converse with them in their own language.

"These facts open an interesting field of enquiry, and seem to lead to a determination of a long contested question, from what quarter of the world did the native of America originally come? I suspect that they may be allied to some of the tribes of wandering Arabs. Their habits are very similar, and those acquainted with the language of those tribes, might from the meagre specimens I have given of the Choctaw language, be able to determine whether there be such a sim-

ilarity as would justify a suspicion that they were of one origin. I have seen no specimen of language of the modern Arabs which would enable me to pursue the enquiry, but many, no doubt, have in England."

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

At a late meeting of the African Institution in England, at which John Randolph was present, several speeches were made, complimenting the United States for the part our government has taken in abolishing the Slave Trade. The following is an extract from the remarks of William Wilberforce. It is copied from a London paper:--

Mr. Wilberforce in seconding the declaratory resolution, deeply regretted the necessity which existed of enlightening the public mind of France respecting the odious nature of the slave trade. Fifteen years ago, when their illustrious chairman had joined in the formation of this society, they vainly thought the question of abolition was set at rest and that nothing remained but to secure the co-operation of the other powers to execute the prohibitory laws enacted against the crime. Though their anticipations had not been fulfilled, they had yet done much, and had earned that reward which all good men were sure to meet without reference to the success of their benevolent efforts. Independent of the moral necessity for the continuance of their labors, they should never forget that they owed Africa a weighty reparation for the deep injuries which they had inflicted on her unhappy children, and could never stop until they had repaired the evils they had committed. (Hear, hear.) The honorable gentleman then took a retrospective glance at the progress of their labors; at the advances they had made since the time when the unhappy Africans were declared, even by some historians to be an inferior class of human beings, not to be classed in the same scale with others. He particularly eulogized the society of Friends for their uniform efforts in the cause of the abolition—efforts which, he said, had compelled them to violate the modesty of their own feelings, to act in opposition to the principles by which they regulated their conduct, and come forward to assist in the holy work, in open day, in conjunction with their brethren of different religions. He also

said, that to the honor of Ireland, her ports had never been defiled by the vessels of this odious traffic—a fact which gave that generous and gallant nation an additional claim to the relief of this country.

(Hear, hear). It was a humiliating fact, that England had, in the slave trade, been pre-eminent in guilt; but it was consolatory to know that she was also the foremost in repentance. (Hear, hear) So completely had England formerly identified this traffic with her trade, that even when she abandoned it, other nations fancied that it was for the purpose of carrying into effect some new commercial speculation. He then congratulated the society upon the accession of the duke de Broglie and his friends, who were among the most intelligent and distinguished characters in France, and whose efforts would, no doubt, produce the best results. He adverted in flattering terms to the success which had, after a lapse of years, attended the colonization of Sierra Leone—at first the prospect had been discouraging—so it always was in the history of such improvements.

The colony of Virginia, one not undertaken by needy speculators, but at the suggestion of the wisest of men—of lord Bacon, and partly formed under the eye of Sir W. Raleigh—three times was the colony of Virginia attempted, and as often abandoned, until at length a final trial was made, and complete success attended it. The honorable member eulogised in the highest terms the services of sir George Collier, and the naval force under his command on the coast of Africa, and remarked that the first intimation of making the slave trade piracy had a very singular origin. It arose from a treaty made by the son of a very old friend of his, Lieutenant Thompson, R. N. with a people in the Arabian gulph, who consented to denounce the slave trade as piratical, although he (Mr. Wilberforce) was afraid they were themselves little better than pirates.* (Hear and a laugh.)

[*—I should like to know how our friend Randolph looked at this moment, or rather how he would have looked if the orator had then drawn a comparison between the conduct of those Arabians and some of the people of the United States. If he were not entirely devoid of shame methinks his cheeks had been suffused with burning blushes. We too, have "consented to denounce the slave trade

Mr. Brougham proposed a resolution expressive of the gratification of the society at finding the slave trade made piracy by the United States of America.

He looked with indignation at the contrast presented to these nations by the United States of America, and the still greater contrast presented by the republican subjects of a free country, in the performance where they had not promised so much, to those regal governments which had promised so much and performed so little. (Applause.) Too much could not be said of the labors of the Society of Friends, who had been forcibly compelled, by the greatness of their own doings, to encroach upon that meekness of habit which uniformly induced them to

“Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame,”

(hear.) and forced them to receive that public approbation from their fellow subjects which they were the first to earn but the last to claim.

From a Bermuda Paper.

June 15, 1822.

Asylum for Africans.—On the night of the 22d ultimo, forty-six slaves and an African apprentice made their escape from Turks Island, in two small vessels, registered at that port, and belonging to Mr. James Catlin and Mr. Robert Sayers. Accounts were received from the Caicos, a few days afterwards, that one hundred and one slaves, (men, women and children,) from two plantations belonging to the estate of the late Wade Stubbs, had gone off in several small craft which they had taken possession of for the purpose. The place of their destination is known to be the Island of St. Domingo, where refugees of this class are received and protected. The inhabitants of Turks Island, being apprehensive that this evil would increase at that place, have armed themselves, and keep a strict guard at

as piractical,” and have enacted laws to that effect; whilst some of the same men who were foremost in this official denunciation are daily acting the part of the veriest “pirates,” not only against the property, but also against the liberties of their fellow men,—hundreds, nay thousands of whom, are without even a shadow of an excuse for it, other than their selfish and inordinate thirst for power and gain.]

night. In the mean time, as an opportunity offered for Bermuda, the magistrates have petitioned the senior Officer in command on this station, for protection, until communications can be had with the Governor of the Bahamas at New Providence, and the Admiral on the Jamaica station.

Information had reached Porto Plata, St. Domingo, that a small vessel had recently arrived there with a number of runaway slaves from Tortola.

DECISION,

Of the Emperor of Russia, on the Question submitted to him by the United States and British governments, relative to the slaves carried off by the latter during the late war.

[TRANSLATION.]

The emperor is of opinion “that the United States of America are entitled to a just indemnification from Great Britain for all private property carried away by the British forces; and as the question regards slaves more especially, for all such slaves as were carried away by the British forces from the places and territories of which the restitution was stipulated by the treaty, in quitting the said places and territories.”

“That the United States are entitled to consider, as having been so carried away, all such slaves as may have been transported, from the above mentioned territories, on board the British vessels within the waters of the said territories, and who for this reason have not been restored.”

“But if there should be any American slaves who are carried away from territories of which the 1st article of the treaty of Ghent has not stipulated the restitution to the United States, the States are not to claim an indemnification for the said slaves.”

[From a perusal of this document, a very important consideration forces itself upon the mind—viz.—

If the “matters in dispute” between the American and British governments, from which the late war originated, had, in the first place, been submitted to some friendly arbiter, all the blood and treasure expended during that memorable contest might probably have been saved, and *private property* would have remained in the hands of its owners. It is also evident that it would be a much more

Piat Jussitta Ruat Cælum.

efficient way of obtaining justice, than an appeal to the sword; and that both of these governments are sensible of it—Else, why not fall to again, and fight away?—Probably it may be answered, that the liquid of gory vengeance had a short time previous flowed so copiously, that the parties felt less of the frenzy of “honour,” and were, of course, more disposed to listen to reason. When shall Nations as well as individuals learn wisdom, and refrain from pursuing the phantoms of folly and pride!]

“EQUAL AND EXACT!”

It is stated in a *Darien*, (Georgia) paper, that Joseph Lawrence, a colored free man from New York, had been tried and convicted of endeavoring to inveigle and get away from her master, a negro woman belonging to major Dunwoody of that place, (Darien.) The colored man was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and then to be sold as a slave for life! How different is the reward of men in this world for similar acts—while some are lauded to the skies through successive generations, for attempting to release their fellow men from bondage—others are doomed, as in this case, to perpetual slavery, and by those who talk much of *republicanism and liberty*. How can we complain if foreigners do make a bye-word and jest of us among the nations of the earth.

New Jersey Paper.

FREDERICKSBURG, VA. May 25.

A new case.—At the superior court of law for the county of Spotsylvania, held in this town, the case of the commonwealth against — Robbins, was tried on Tuesday last. Mr. Robbins was indicted for cruelly and unmercifully whipping and beating his own slave. The defendant's counsel attempted to rescue him by arguing that the alleged case was not indictable, but the court overruled the objection, and the point was reserved for the decision of the General Court. The jury retired but a short time, and assessed the fine at three hundred dollars. This penalty, though small in itself, may be considered justly severe and exemplary, from the circumstances of the defendant. As this is the first case of the kind that is known to have occurred in Virginia, it cannot fail to be in the highest degree interesting to every humane bosom; since it exhibits

the law interposing to protect the whole of our servile population from the merciless rigor and cruelty of those who are disposed to exercise their power in an unfeeling manner. We regard it too, as a striking instance of a good and liberal policy, as nothing, surely can be truer & ultimately politic, which directly outrages the rights of humanity.

The following article was written for, and inserted in the *American Economist*. The reader will perceive that the prejudice against people of colour does not run so high in this, as in some other parts of the slave holding States. Several of the worthy persons engaged in the undertaking, are, themselves, slave holders. They, however, have not adopted the cruel maxim, “The more ignorant and debased, the better the slave.”

FIRST-DAY SCHOOL.

*“Delightful task! to rear the tender thought,
And teach the young idea how to shoot.”*

A First-Day, or Sabbath School, was opened in this place a short time since, by some of our most respectable citizens, who had previously formed an association for the purpose; and it is pleasing to observe that it is likely to become in a high degree beneficial to those who are disposed to profit by it. The managers, consisting of eight or ten, are divided into several classes, of two or three each, and perform their duties in rotation.—White children of both sexes, and colored persons of all ages and conditions, are freely admitted, and instructed in spelling and reading. The school is open two hours in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon. It is generally well attended, and much praise is due to the managers for their laudable endeavours to implant the seeds of knowledge in the minds of the youth, and to direct their attention to objects of utility. The wise man says: “*Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.*” How important is it then, by a proper attention and cultivation, to form the minds of children, and habituate them to virtue—And how much better is it for them to spend a portion of the day that is set apart for a relaxation from ordinary pursuits, in acquiring “lessons” of useful knowledge, than in idle, or vicious amusements.

Vivat Justitia Ruet Orbem.

MUSES' BOWER & MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENT.

*American, bend for the rights of mankind — Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind. 'Nenth the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

FOR THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA,

A POEM.

BY THOMAS DOAN,

One of the Members of the Mammission Society of Tennessee.

COMPOSED, JUNE 1822.

Hail dawning Aurora! thy beams are dispelling
The glooms of Chaotic and despotic night;
Tyrannical hydras, in rapine excelling,
Die when they're expos'd to political light!
Thy beams long obscur'd by the clouds of confusion,
Have, late, broken forth on the *northerly sky*,—
Have sever'd the cords of monarchical delusion,
And hence the dire monster oppression must fly.
For ages on ages, the fiend has been swaying
His sceptre tyrannic, the nations around,
And millions attentive his mandates obeying,
Humanity suffers a tragical wound!
Hail freedom immortal! the muses thrice hail thee,
Fair offspring of heaven, and child of the light,
Tho' hell still oppose, and tyrants assail thee,
Thy reign be co-equal with power and might,
Reluctantly rising in radiant glory,
New laurels of conquest thy temples shall crown,
Oppressions' black gorgon, shall vanish before thee,
And flee, Demon-like, from the force of thy frown.
The old world, engulph'd in the waves of oppression,
Monarchical darkness, dire misery's shrine,
The new, thou didst choose for a lasting possession,
And fix'd thy abode on the *north of the line*;
American sages rejoic'd at thy splendor,—
Declaring that all men by nature, were free,
Yet made to thy sceptre a partial surrender
Of what was in justice, demanded by thee,—
A part of the price, which they ought to have given,
Was from thee withheld tho' 'twas justly thy due,
A crime too provoking to injured heaven,
And well may they "*tremble*" at what may ensue!
Strict justice denied, from these *northerly regions*,
Thy flight thou hast wing'd to a *southern clime*,
Illuming with knowledge and virtue the legions
Late sunk in the depth of oppression and crime:
With exquisite wisdom, their councils adorning,
There liberty flourishes in its full bloom,
Resplendent, it shines, like the beams of the morning,
Dispelling the shadows of Stygian gloom.
Colombia, Colombia! thou brilliant example;
Political day star throughout the whole earth
May nations unborn, take thy deeds for a sample,
Who first to fair freedom hast given full birth!
No one, white: or colour'd, within thy dominions,
By law held in bondage, but all declar'd free;
Whatever their tenets, their thoughts and opinions,
Secure, "*nenth the shade of thy liberty tree.*"

Fit Justitia Ruit Cordum.

Colombia, Colombia, hail favoured nation!
 Inspir'd with true wisdom, and knowledge supreme,
 Thy God has wrought for this mighty salvation,
 And made thee a pattern for all other men.
 Thy leader illustrious in all thy contentions
 And struggle for freedom, through peril and pain,
 True patriot, and counsellor in thy conventions,
 Thy children unborn, shall exult at his name;
 Great BOLIVARS' name, yet to millions endearing,
 The brightest political star of the west,
 Its sound than the dulcimers' music more cheering
 To Spaniards and Africs, with *liberty* blest!
 Thy soul too expansive to claim the great blessing
 Of *freedom*, for thee and thy colour alone,
 Which Niggards monopolize, holding possession,
 And claiming the privilege all as their own.
 But thou in philanthropic spirit excelling,
 And govern'd by equity's solemn decree,
 Thy brother to serve thee, no longer compelling,
 Hast said to thy Africs in bondage—be free!
 Ye *Chieftains*, whose minds are by avarice blinded;
 Whose souls are attached to a *colour* or *clan*,
 Behold here a spirit, not proud nor high minded,
 Expanded, benignant—the *soul of a man*!
 He a sacrifice offer'd of the slaves he possessed
 (Of more than a thousand) at liberty's shrine,
 And each with his own native freedom invests,
 A deed truly noble, magnific, divine.
 May his bright example excite emulation,—
 May tyrants' cheeks burn to a cinder with shame;
 Each virtuous patriot, by close imitation
 Aspire at BOLIVARS' summit of fame!—
 His fame to posterity still will be known
 When tyrants are lost in oblivion profound,—
 The Chieftain America claims as her own,
 And his name shall henceforth to all ages resound.

From the Indiana Farmer.

A wretched Negro who had wander'd
 All the night till break of day,
 Thus his woeful case he pondered,
 As beneath an oak he lay,—
 Dreadful is my situation,
 Born a slave—how can it be;
 Hear the people's Declaration,
 "Men are equal born, and free."
 When a child on James' river,
 I was from my master bought,
 Paid for with some pelts of Beaver,
 And to wild Kentucky brought;
 There I served a cruel master,
 Suffering much and growing old;
 There I met a sad disaster,
 Heavens! it makes my blood run cold—
 Tyrants worse than old Agrippa,
 Robb'd me of the joys of life:
 Sailing down the Mississippi,
 Are my children and my wife:
 Wife and children dear and tender,
 Must we then forever part;

Must we more than life surrender;
 This the throe that rends my heart.
 Soon I left this seat of slavery,
 Fled to Indiana's plains,
 Here I met with baser knavery,
 Here where boasted Freedom reigns;
 Here I suffered dreadful evils,
 Hell-hounds have pursued me hard;
 Horrid monsters, worse than devils,
 Catching negroes for reward.
 Here keen hunger pinches sorely,
 Dreadful terrors haunt the mind,
 Bolts and dungeons lurk before me,
 Whips and chains are hard behind,
 None on earth will now befriend me.
 Sighs and tears are but in vain,
 Come my knife you soon must end me,
 Hell must be a lesser pain.
 See his nervous arm extending,
 In his breast to strike the blade,
 See a heavenly form descending,
 'Hold your hand,' stern Justice said,
 'How faint hearted son of sorrow,

Dost thou thus repine at fate;
 Thou that hast not seen to-morrow,
 Rush on death and force his gate?
 'Let no present thing surprise thee,
 God is just in all his ways;
 Come and I will sure inform thee,
 What must be in latter days:—
 For your crimes in burning Afric,
 Long your nation has been slaves,
 Subject of the basest traffic,
 Ever borne on oceans' waves.
 But shall tyrants reign forever?
 No, I swear it shall not be,
 Every chain that binds, I'll sever.
 Soon the nations shall be free.
 *Go once more and serve with patience,
 Wield again the ponderous sledge,
 Soon the blacks shall form free nations,
 St. Domingo is your pledge.
 Quick the cherub spread his pinions,
 Vengeance blazing in his eye,
 Down with tyrants and their minions!
 Nations heard and joined the cry.
 June, 1822. B.

EXCELLENT REMARK.

At a late meeting in London, at which M. Zea, the Colombian ambassador attended, the subject of Slavery was discussed, and the well known William Wilberforce, being present, in a few words expressed himself in the following eloquent strain.

"Mr. Wilberforce said He was rejoiced to perceive the prospect that was around them. The darkness of slavery was receding—The light of freedom was already beaming with brilliancy, and they would shortly be enabled to hail a glorious day in its full meridian lustre."

The editor of a paper entitled the *Harrison Telegraph*, published at Cadiz, Ohio, noticing the circumstance of the audacious monster whipping his slave to death, and the proceedings of the court relative thereto, inserted in No. 12 of this work, observes:—

"Merciful Heaven! Two hundred dollars only, for wilfully and DELIBERATELY MURDERING a fellow mortal!! and this too in a country renowned for its principles of LIBERTY, Equality, Justice, &c. and whose very statutes emphatically declare, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The heart sickens at the idea of such an outrage upon humanity. The principal part of the slave holders of

the United States, are so wealthy that \$200 would scarcely be missed from their coffers."

EDITORIAL.

HUMANE PROTECTING SOCIETY.

The benefits to be derived from this Association are beginning to develope themselves. A circumstance has lately occurred, which I cannot forbear mentioning, for the gratification of the public.

A certain John Hood, residing in Blount county, Tennessee, sold a free mulatto girl, a short time since, to a person of the name of Mayberry, who disposed of her to the westward. The Society being apprized of the circumstance, commissioned one of its members to make enquiry, and to examine into the affair. Hood was accordingly waited upon; and being little disposed to do any thing that would be satisfactory, he was given to understand that the girl must be forth coming at a stated time, or a halter would be the probable reward of his conduct. On hearing this, he posted off for the girl, and re-purchased her at two hundred dollars more than he had sold her for. He considered this a great hardship, and complained bitterly; but was consoled with the observation that if strict justice had been meted to him, it would have cost him at least four hundred dollars, with the addition of forty lashes!

CONSPIRACY.

A great sensation has been produced in South Carolina, respecting the conspiracy among the slaves, mentioned in a letter from a gentleman in Charleston to his friend in New York, an extract from which was inserted in the last number of this paper. Many of the miserable creatures have paid the forfeit of their lives. Between 30 and 40 were hung, and as many banished to places beyond the limits of the United States.

The governor of that State has published a lengthy account of the proceedings that took place upon the occasion, which will be noticed at a future period. Some further remarks will also be made upon the subject, probably in the next number.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Fredonia" is received—also the "*Columbian Bard*," and a communication from Maysville, Ky. They shall appear.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 3.—VOL. II.

NINTH MONTH, 1822.

WHOLE No. 15.

Some people who are professedly in favour of emancipation, strongly object to the establishing of any kind of Societies, or publishing any thing on the subject of Slavery, on the ground of its giving offence to some sentimental Slaveholders. But this is fallacious reasoning truly. If we let them alone, to pursue their own way, without interruption, when will they come to a knowledge of their error? And if they know themselves to be wrong, yet continue in their evil ways, is it not agreeable to the dictates of the Gospel, and of sound reasoning, to tell them of their fault, and exhort them to turn from their unrighteousness? But some may say that these entreaties are of no avail; that they only add fuel to the flames, and fire the angry passions. But if it sometimes has this effect, amidst the struggling of the passions the evil spirit may depart. The pointed expression, "Thou art the man," opened the eyes of David to the enormity of his guilt; and it is possible that similar language may brighten the vision of the depraved in modern days.



For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

NO. VI.

April, 1822.

DEAR SISTER,

Since I have been among the slaveholding professors of religion, an account of which is given in my last, I have had sufficient reasons, from the disappointment I experienced in not seeing the fruits of what I consider genuine Gospel Christianity produced by them, for very serious reflections on the popular professors of our times, and for making such comparisons as naturally occurred to my understanding. *Disinterestedness*, however highly professed by many of them, appears to me to be possessed by but very few; and tho' the word still retains its native sound, as it rolls from the tongue, yet its nature, or practical operation has become nearly obsolete—whilst *self interest* seems to have

gained the ascendancy in the human estimation, and has come to be the great object of a too general pursuit. Nor are those who make no particular profession of religion, carried away more generally by the current of self interest; but it appears to me, that a vast majority of those that make the highest pretensions to it are taken in its vortex, as I can discover little or no difference between those who profess religion in a high degree, and those who profess it not, (taking them on an average) in their attachments to the world, and in their almost entire conformity to it, in every shape & way in which it can be exhibited. If I am not mistaken in my speculation, the spirit of the world, with its customs and maxims, have become so mixed with religion, that it might puzzle an *apostle*, (should one come) to pick out from the blended system, the several parts that belong to religion, and those that properly belong to the world; so as to draw a line of fair discrimination between them.—Should religion come to be fairly stripped of the rags, ribands, and patches, that have been tacked to it, to give it a worldly appearance, (as it certainly will at some future period) and be exhibited to mankind in its plain, and native simplicity, the charge would not only be great, but beneficial in the highest degree.

From the little knowledge I have acquired of the different notions of religion, I discover that these differences consist more in theory than in practice; for whilst men are divided in sentiment in the principles, they seem to be pretty generally agreed in sacrificing as large a share of their time and talents, as possible, to the service of *Plutus*.

The difference between the Christian religion, and the system adopted by Mahomet must certainly be very great, as the former was announced by the *Angels* to be a system of *peace on earth, and good will to all men*, and was established by the *Prince of Peace* upon the purest principles of justice, morality, mercy, holiness, and benevolence; and the latter by a *bloody warrior*, and was propa-

gated by the sword, yet a striking similarity in practice seems to exist at the present time between many of the professors of the two systems, which cannot be accounted for on any other principle, than that they are under the government of the same spirit of *self interest*, and attachment to the world. Many of our slave-holding professors are great high-flyers in religion, and profess the highest degree of sanctity or holiness; and are so tenacious of their religious ceremonials, that the slightest omission of any one of them would nearly sink them to a state of despondency; and yet are straining every nerve to accumulate wealth, live on the *gain of oppression* without remorse, and withhold from their fellow men their *unalienable right of freedom*, retaining them and their posterity, in brutal ignorance, and disgraceful bondage, without feeling the least compunction on that account; but some of them are ready to break their hearts with grief on account of the poor heathen, and Mahometans at a distance, that are destitute of religion and gospel light, and would do any thing in their power towards their conversion.

The Mahometan believer is as tenacious of his religious performances, and hours of prayer, and is as sure of obtaining paradise, in his estimation, and possesses the same hungry appetite for wealth, and enslaving his brethren of the human family, as the Christian professing slave holder; and no doubt, with me, that he is as equally entitled to the rewards of heaven for doing to others, as he would have others do to him. Were we to traverse the gloomy regions of what is termed the heathen world, from the frigid Zones of the south, and northern poles to the burning Equator, I should despair of finding greater degrees of cruelty-exercised, or more instances of oppression and avarice in operation, than what have been, and still are practised amongst Christian professors, tho' they may be numerous! *What a scourge and curse is man, to man?* and what risks will not man run, and what convention and fraud will not thousands of Christians, (so called) Jews, Mahometans, and heathens use, to gain a little of the glittering wealth of this world, which will soon leave them, or they must leave it, & go to suffer the consequence of their covetousness and injustice, under the eternal frowns of a sin avenging God!

I consider *fraud* to consist of several *grades or degrees*; and I propose it as a query for discussion, whether or not the practisers of it are not all of one class, whether Christians, Jews, Mahometans, or heathens, from the murdering assassin that kills his fellow men for their money—the highway robber—the private thief—those who deprive their fellow men of their right of freedom—the double tongued villains that defraud other men in their dealings; and so on, down to the sordid wretch that would unjustly deprive his fellow mortal of the value of a single cent.

Mankind in every age, have been divided into three great classes, unequal, however, in number: The first, have been those who in every age and station have endeavored to act agreeable to the principles of moral rectitude, and to be as extensively useful to their fellow beings as in their power; stemming the torrents of popular corruptions, in acts of benevolence, philanthropy and justice; & thus answering, in a good degree, the designs of their being on earth. The second, a more numerous class of beings, are those that eat and drink to live, and live to eat and drink—mere blanks in creation, having done no perceivable good, or material harm to the rest of their species; that come into the world, pass through, and then leave it without any other testimonials of their lives, than that they had been born, and that they had died.

The third class, still more numerous than the second, are such as have not only done no good, but have been, in a greater, or in a less degree, a continual *curse and plague* to some or other of their fellow beings; acting more the part of tormenting devils, than children of the same universal parent, and brethren of the human race. Nor has this class been made up of assassins and outlaws alone, but composed of men, whose names and exploits have been, and still are by some, held in the highest veneration, Emperors, Kings, Popes, Bishops, men in power both in church and state, clergymen and laymen, who have borrowed the cloak of religion for sinister views; kidnappers of their own species; traders in human kind, cheats, drunkards, and oppressors of every name.

From the pride and ambition of men in power, both clergy and laity, have principally originated all those oppres-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

sions in governments, which have been dreadfully experienced by millions of the human family; while the earth has groaned under the mighty 'load of misery, occasioned by the blood, carnage and devastation, produced by them in their secular and religious wars, bloody inquisitions, racks, and various other engines of torture, invented by hellish art for the purpose of administering misery to those who were as good as themselves!

Will it be believed in our day, that those who were the cause of all these miseries to mankind, had religion? Many of them made as great a profession of it, and were, no doubt, as truly entitled to our credit in that respect, as those human tygers in sheep's clothing should be, who pillaged Africa of its inoffensive inhabitants; or the receivers and holders of their stolen property, who grow rich by fleecing the unhappy victims of their avarice of the very last clippings of all that is near and dear to a human being, and reducing them and their posterity to hopeless, and endless vassalage, and brutal ignorance!

Man was never made to be the scourge of *man*, nor was *man* ever made to be the slave of *man*—those things have grown out of a root, diabolical in its nature. The size of a letter is too small to contain a description of all the public and private acts of violence and fraud practised by man, on man; or of all the envy, malice, spite, lying, perjury, private mischief, and ill will, practised by many, who thereby disturb the peace of society, and render themselves & others, painfully unhappy! What neighborhood is there that is not cursed with one or more of the infernals belonging to this third class, and who is it that has not been a sufferer on that account? So powerful is the influence of *self interest* on the minds of many of these beings, that despairing of succeeding in their avaricious views in their native characters without delusions, they put on a profession of religion and sanctity, to deceive the unsuspecting by gaining their confidence, that they may have a better chance of doing them an injury without suspicion; and thus they bring into disrepute, the only refuge, and last reviving cordial of dying men and women!!!

If I have not seen so much pleasure in my rambles, and acquaintance with men and things, as I had anticipated, I have gained some knowledge, though it be of

the painful kind, and can cordially join in the exclamation, that the earth is full of the habitations of cruelty!

Your affectionate brother,
IRENEUS.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
THE MODERN LISTENER
To his Correspondent. No. IX.

Dear Sir,

I take up my pen to inform you that I still follow my old trade of *listening*; and though I have communicated very little of what I have lately heard; and lest you should think you are forgotten, or at least, neglected, I here send you an account of some of the things I have heard, and also some of my thoughts, which, as former communications, are at your disposal.

I was, not long since, at a meeting of one of the branches of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, where I heard a great many good things, relative to its institution; both with regard to its nature, and its designs, which ultimately tend to the gradual emancipation of the people of colour in our country; which thing, you must know, is very pleasing to me, & I should suppose, to every man whose heart is not divested of those sympathetic feelings for his fellow creatures' woes, that ought to govern the passions, and guide the actions of every true republican. But sir, you cannot guess at my surprize when I heard one of the members tell his associates, that they were branded with the name of *tory*—a general smile was perceived on the countenances of the people present, tho' I thought it did not sit well upon the person who related the tale, to be counted a *tory*, for being engaged in one of the most humane enterprizes that was ever set on foot in America, the revolution not excepted! While silence for a moment prevailed, either disgusted at the ignorance of their defamers, or expecting to hear something that would expose that ignorance, a venerable old man, a member of the branch, arose and said; "I shall, on this occasion, take the liberty to give, first, a history of the words *whig* and *tory*, and secondly, an explanation of them. (now sir, you may expect I was all ear)—And first, the words came from England, and were brought into the general use in which we have heard them, about the time of King William; however, he would not vouch that

he was correct as to the time; but it was at a time when that people were divided into parties, the one were *Aristocrats*, & the other *Democrats*;—the *Democrats* were in favour of a popular or *republican* government, which vests the sovereignty in the people, and in its nature and principles, is opposed to all monopolies, and establishments of an ecclesiastical nature; and it also embraces in its full extent, "*This self evident truth, that all men are created equal,*" and therefore the executive in this government, is chosen by the suffrage of the sovereign people. The *aristocrats* opposed this form of government, and stood up for their nobles, and lords, and monopolizers, and the establishment of the Church of England, and finally, prevailed; which brought vexation, trouble and almost intolerable affliction upon the democratical party.

2dly, the import of words. From the above statement, you may gather that the *democrats* were *soured* both in their spirits & conduct against the *aristocrats* & their government, & therefore the *aristocrats* called them *whigs*, which is a Scotch word, if I mistake not, & signifies *sour*,—perhaps sour milk, such as our *lords* & *nobles* give to their pigs or hogs, & they will give you *whigs* to prison, to the stake, & to banishment; hence you may conjecture, and history confirms it as a truth, that the *democrats* or nonconformists were plundered of their livings—some of their lives, and others of their liberties—therefore they styled the *aristocrats* *Tories*, which I think, is an Irish word, and signifies to *rob* or *plunder*. Now I have done what I promised, and you can judge who best deserve the name of *Tory*—they who are in favor of unqualified slavery, and thereby *rob* and *plunder* a fellow creature of every thing that is near & dear to him, or who are in favor of all men enjoying their natural rights!

Here the old man stopped, & the meeting broke up, but I can assure you, I was not done with the words *tory* and *whig*, for thought upon thought came rushing in like impelling waves, or flashing lightning upon my mind; and having some little smattering knowledge of the history of the times, which the old man had spoken of, I thought the name *tory* was very appropriate to the *aristocrats*, for they so robbed and plundered the *democrats* that many of them left their native land, and crossed the ocean to seek an asylum in America.

My next thoughts were turned to Africa; here I thought on the destruction of the old town of *Malabar*, and the many deserted and demolished villages, and cottages to be met with in that country; and asked myself, *who hath done this?*—The answer was at hand. According to the old man's definition, the *tories*, that is *robbers* and *plunderers*! Hence I consider the name *tory* to be very appropriate to all those who *rob* and *plunder* a country of its inhabitants, and make them articles of commerce, and brand them as such, and expose them for sale, not for one or two years, but during life, and thus they are plundered of the most valuable jewel in life—*freedom*!—O how painful the thought—"I was born free—but where am I now! sold and driven off naked, to labour for another as long as I live without any equivalent—and indeed there can be no equivalent for *liberty*!—And the evil does not terminate with my bodily existence—no, but my posterity are doomed to share the same fate!"—Now sir, as our common law instructs us to believe that the *receiver* is as bad as the *stealer*, I consider the name *tory* to be as applicable to the *buyers* as to the *stealers*; though I grant, that in the beginning of the slave trade, many purchasers were ignorant of the manner in which the poor *Africans* were procured, yet they could not be ignorant that they were human beings; and though the *tory* captains and supercargoes might tell them that they had forfeited their liberty in their own country, there could be no law, founded in justice, to make their posterity slaves; and I think that they who made such laws, with all such as take advantage of these laws, are *robbers* or *plunderers* or *tories*, which ever of these synonymous terms you may please to use, that is, if the old man's definition be good. But further, the *tory* slave merchants tell us: "we have done these poor creatures a great kindness in buying them, and thereby saving their lives, for they were condemned to die." Now, supposing this statement to be true, their conduct towards them in the ships, and where they land them for sale, goes to prove that the tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty, and that it would have been a greater act of kindness to have let them suffer the penalty of their own law, than to be stowed and crowded together on the ships as they were, where many of them died by peace meals, and

those who survived the voyage, to be sold like cattle, drove like horses, and fed little better than dogs; where every puny dwarf of a thing in human shape, that is *white*, about the house, is calling, commanding, threatening, and sometimes beating their more than half naked bodies!—Hence you may sometimes hear the poor slave sing: “*Mungo here, and Mungo dare, and Mungo, Mungo ebely where, and me wish in my heart dat poor Mungo was dead.*”—For my part, I think them perfectly excusable in wishing a period to their existence, especially when I take into view that their posterity, by the present existing laws, are doomed to share in all the privations, and degradations inseparable from a state of unqualified slavery. And I am of the opinion that there is not a man of sense and candour amongst us, that will take a view of Negro Slavery in all its bearings, &c. but will say and believe, that it would have been more consistent with justice and humanity, to have let the Africans all die in their own country, than to have brought them here, and elsewhere, and place them and their posterity in the situation in which they are; and hence, you hear men of this description in the Congress Hall, and in our courts of justice, with hundreds, elsewhere, acknowledging slavery to be an evil; and hundreds more crying out, O! that there never had been one brought to America.” Now to remedy this evil, and to deliver our otherwise happy country from the awful curse consequent upon slavery, is the object, and design of the *Manumission Society*, as I understand from the constitution, and others of their approved publications; and my prayer is, that heaven may prosper their endeavors.—Not so, says some of their neighbours, “they are all *tories*, and ought to be hunted out of the land!” Here sir, I shall give you a brief portrait of the people who talk thus: first, they have no negroes, and are never likely to get any; secondly, they love the favour of princes, and as they have no slaves to recommend them to the slave holders, they must do something to gain, and keep in favour with those petty monarchs; therefore they ridicule, and persecute all those who are opposed to the principle and practice of slavery. Thirdly, some of them are pinching their stock, and families by selling meat, grain, &c. to get and lay up money, in hopes by and by they

will get a negro; but the money comes in so slow, and the Manumissioners increase and progress so fast, that they are afraid the negroes will all be free before they can get one:—Poor fellows! no wonder they cry *tory*. Fourthly, there are others whose father, or perhaps wife’s father, owns some negroes; but from the light which has been disseminated on the subject of slavery, either directly, or indirectly, by the Manumission Society, and others, the good old people see that slavery is a radical evil, and that it very illy comports with the character of a Christian, in his last, and perhaps dying act and deed to rivet the chains of slavery upon the necks of Tom, Bet, &c. and their posterity; therefore, he resolves that his negroes shall never serve any person after his death. This is, indeed a sad stab to his son W—m’s fond hopes of heir-ing a *bone sled*; & it is a mortal wound to W—m’s children, whom you have often heard talk in a very stylish mannner about grand papa’s *negro fellow and wenches*; but, thank God! if the old man is only firm to what he has purposed, the poor little things will not be cursed with grand papa’s slaves. Now sir, these little creatures, with their fathers and mothers, will cry *tory*; but as they have had timely notice how things are like to turn out with grand papa’s negroes, I hope they will be learnt to work.

But there is another sort of people, whom I shall take the liberty to call a kind of *drones*, who are as much afraid of the name of *tory*, as ever the Creek Indians were of General Jackson’s three pounder—talk to them about slavery, and its evils, and they readily acknowledge it to be an evil, but hand them the constitution of the Manumission Society, to acc- modate you, perhaps they will read it, but so determined are they to be *drones*, that when they hand it back to you, they understand no more about the merits of the cause, than when they first took it into their hands; but ask them what they think of it—Ah! say they, “we have got no slaves, neither do we want any, nor have we ever had any hand in bringing them here, and we do not intend to trouble ourselves about them;”—nay, they further state that they are under no obligation to do any thing about, or for them. Now, do you not see how determined they are to come out *drones*?—They have not stings, that is, they do not cry *tory*; but are afraid of being called

themselves!

The way these men talk, might induce some to suppose that they do not think that the negroes are human, & that they were not made of the same blood that themselves were; that it is on this ground that they justify themselves in checking those tender sympathetic feelings that are common to human beings, at the sight, or recollection of the woes and miseries of their own species; but this is not the case—they do believe that the negroes are human, and that God made them, with all other nations, of one blood, they see their wrongs, and often feel for them, and will tell you they are willing the poor Africans should be free; but like *drones*, they do little or nothing, and justify themselves by saying, that they had no hand in bringing them into their miserable condition!—Now sir, you will hear high professors of religion talk in this way, and I think I have heard a *preacher of the gospel* talk in this way; and I expect the *priest*, and the *levite*, that passed by on the other side, from the poor wounded man, talked in the same way; and what if the *Samaritan* had done as they did? why the half dead man would soon have been quite dead! but thank God, that that *gentiles* conduct stands recorded as a lesson, to teach the *buzzing drones* that christianity, and humanity consist in something more than the making a little noise once in a while about the thing! Pray sir, what would the inhabitants of Greenville, and the fond relatives of the unfortunate man, who a little time past, was killed by his waggon running over him near the town, have thought of the persons, who first found that object of human pity, and christian care, had they have left him without giving notice of his situation?—This they might have done, upon the principles of our *drones*, for they had no hand in bringing him into that situation. For my part, I think the most correct opinion of such a conduct would have been, that those persons had been accessory to his death, and to all other ill hap, that might have taken place with the dead body; but those who found him, did as men, and christians should do, they gave their aid to a helpless fellow mortal, and perhaps, all the aid they were capable of affording. O that our neighbors may go and do likewise!

But lastly, there is another sort of people, who are ignorant of the first princi-

ples of our government, and also of the word *tory*, and of course, often apply it wrong. The first principles of our government are these, founded upon self evident truth—"That all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Now sir, in old times, say forty years ago, the word *tory*, was applied in America, to those who stood opposed to those first principles, and if it was then properly applied, I cannot, for my life, tell by what rule of logick any sensible man can apply it to the *Manumissioners*; for it is on these first principles they rest their cause, on these they wish to be heard & judged! It is true, they with propriety censure our former Legislators for a departure from those principles, in making laws which have involved such an immense part of our population in the awful gulph of slavery; and our present Legislators for continuing those laws, which, from year to year, continues to bind the heavy yoke upon the necks of hundreds of our fellow beings, which is a serious blot, or stain upon our national character. And as it is this blot, or stain, that the *Manumissioners* wish to be wiped off, or taken out, I think the name *whig*, would be very appropriate to them; for you must know sir, that I have listened to the talk of the good housewife, as well as to the preacher, and I have heard her say that *sour milk* was very good to take stains and blots, &c. out of linen. &c. but let it be remembered, that there is no degree of *sourness* in the *Manumissioners* against any part of our government or laws, only such as go to rob and plunder men of their natural rights. A gradual repeal of those laws which are contrary to our first principles is what they pray for; and I expect, if they progress as they have done for some years past, that before fifty years roll round, that our continent will be free indeed. May the Governor of the Universe hasten the blessed day—So prays, yours, &c. MODERN LISTENER.

Sept. 1, 1821.

AN ADDRESS

To the Jefferson Branch of the *Manumission Society of Tennessee*.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

IN compliance with your appointment at our last meeting, I now proceed

to address you on the subject of slavery. The age in which we live may emphatically be termed the age of benevolent exertion; the true and genuine principles of benevolence have been more generally imbibed than at any former period; and the rays of light are falling on the habitations of cruelty. Europe and America are now engaged, under the patronage of heaven, in exertions to dispel the dark and dismal cloud which has hitherto brooded over the unhappy sons and daughters of Africa. To effect this laudable end, and accelerate a general emancipation of this unhappy part of our population, societies have been formed in different parts of our country, which, like so many streams, are bearing their respective waters into the great channel of good will to man. Christians of every denomination are engaging in this good cause; and we believe their exertions to effect the gradual emancipation of slaves, tends to the fulfilment of those parts of prophecy which speak of the sanctuary being cleansed before the commencement of the millenium. I am disposed to rejoice with you, my brethren, in the prospect of the accomplishment of our object. But I have to lament that many of our respectable citizens (and some of them professed christians) are yet attempting to support slavery on Bible principles. In the prosecution of this address, I intend, in the first place, briefly to shew the christian that slavery is inconsistent with the Bible; and in the second place, attempt to shew the man of the world, that it is inconsistent with human policy.

First, then, my christian friends, I believe that the practice of slave-making and slave-holding, are both bottomed on supreme selfishness; which spirit is universally condemned throughout the Book of God. In vain do you revert to the Mosaic law, in search of arguments. Be candid for a moment, and let us examine the case. If slavery did exist under that dispensation, it must have existed according to law, for the Divine Lawgiver would not have overlooked so important a transaction as that of one man enslaving another. Then, under the Jewish economy, we distinguish three distinct laws, viz. the Moral, Ceremonial and Judeical; which laws embraced the whole Jewish economy. The Moral law is comprehended in the ten commandments, given to Moses in Horeb, as you will see by reading Deuteronomy, 5th chapter,

7th verse, and onward. Now, my christian friends, I would just ask, what are the requisitions of the moral law? I suppose you will be pleased to let the Saviour of sinners answer for you. See his reply to the lawgiver. The first and great commandment in the law is, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul and mind;" and the second is like unto it—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." I presume that none will have the hardihood to say that loving our neighbor as ourselves, gives us a ground to make him our slave; for if we, as christians, come up to the spirit of the law, we will act towards our neighbor just as we would wish him to do towards us. Hence the moral law gives no room for a slave.

Secondly, the Ceremonial law was given expressly to regulate the religious worship, which God himself, as a sovereign lawgiver required of the Jewish people as a national church. Hence it follows, that if slavery did exist, it must have been sanctioned by the Judeical law or civil policy of the Jewish nation. That the Divine lawgiver in regulating the civil policy of that nation, did allow the Jewish people to hold servants is plain; and according to my view, it is a mark of the infinite wisdom of the lawgiver. The gods of the heathen were wood and stone, the work of men's hands. But when the heathen became servants to the Jewish people, they had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the true God; and when the temporary servitude to which they had been subjected was ended, they, if they saw proper, returned to their own land; and no doubt many of them did return, according to the ordinance of Heaven, to proclaim that there was a God in Israel. Where, my christian friends, I would ask, are the years of jubilee that your slaves enjoy? Let shame burn your faces to cinder when you attempt to compare American slaves to Jewish servants; for all christians who are well acquainted with their Bibles, know that the law by which Jewish servants were held was abrogated at the close of the Jewish dispensation.—Lastly, I would observe, that all servants exhorted to obedience throughout the New Testament, were servants according to the civil policy of the Jewish nation.

It now remains for us to shew that slavery is inconsistent with human poli-

cy. The last census shews the number of slaves in the United States, and their rapid increase. Supposing them to increase in the same ratio, it will appear that a proportion of our population will, in the course of even a few years, consist of persons of this description. No argument is necessary to shew that this is very far indeed from making an increase of our physical strength; for it is impossible that there can be a population in any country which will be neutral as to its effects upon society. The causes of public corruption and national depravity are at first slow, and work unseen. They begin to operate by insensible degrees, & are always perceived least by that part of the community on which their operation is most fatal. For the illustration of the above proposition, let us for a moment take a stand on some eminence, in full view of the slave-holder's residence—and lo! we see in the master nothing but tyranny, despotism and oppression; his sons are spectators of the scene; & notwithstanding their minds are too often at par with the slave, in point of inclination, yet from the degraded, depressed, and deplorable state of the slaves with which they have been brought up, the young masters in forming a contrast, are led to admire their own greatness. And when they arrive at the years of maturity, their greatest wish is, that they may give to the world a manifestation of that greatness. Hence we see, so many people of this cast are candidates for posts of profit and honor in our government. And notwithstanding they have been brought up in the very haunts of tyranny and despotism, and are in fact in the full possession of those detestable principles, yet they have abundant encouragement to aspire to the representation of the republic; for if the title (slave-holder) should fail, the money earned by the slave, if laid out for whiskey, will be all-sufficient to procure the desired seat.—Thus we see the young master placed at the very helm of government; and I will leave my countrymen to judge whether so notorious a violator of the Federal Constitution can take his seat in our legislative councils with a design to secure to his constituents the sacred rights of the constitution. Thus we see that slavery has a bearing and tendency to become the very bane of our liberty, by placing us in the hands of a weak, short-sighted, and ruinous administration.

I come now to a close, by observing that unless something is speedily done for the relief of the degraded sufferers in our land, their case will, on some future day, affect the repose of the United States.

Approved—by the Jefferson Branch of the Manumission Society of Tennessee.

JOHN SWAIN, Clerk.

MINUTES

Of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, held at Lost Creek Meeting-House, Jefferson County, East Tennessee, on the 12th and 13th days of the 8th Mo. (August) 1822.

1st. The Eighth Convention of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, met, agreeably to the adjournment of the Convention of last year.

2d. The President calling the House to order, the following persons produced certificates of their legal appointment as representatives to this Convention, viz:

From the Greene Branch, John Marshall, Samuel McNeese and David Stanfield.

Maryville do. David Delzil,

Aaron Hackney and Andrew Cowan.

Bethesda do. Isaiah Harrison.

Hickory Valley do. John Coulson and William Lee.

Nolichucky do. Lawrence Earnest.

Turkey Creek do. William Milliken.

Washington do. Joseph Tucker.

French Broad do. William Snoddy and John McCrosky.

Holston do. Jesse Lockhart and James M. Campbell.

Jefferson do. John Caldwell,

James Caldwell and Elisha Hammer.

Middle Creek do. John Kerr.

Beaver Creek,

Sullivan,

Powell's Valley,

Newport &

Knoxville,

} Not represented.

3d. The President, Clerk and Treasurer's offices expiring, and they rendering a satisfactory account of the discharge of their duties in office, the Convention nominated John Coulson and Jesse Lockhart, to superintend the election of officers:—and on counting the votes, it ap-

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peared that James Jones, was duly re-elected President, Thomas Doan, Clerk; and Asa Gray, Treasurer, for the ensuing year.

4th. The Clerk not being present, John Coulson was appointed Clerk pro tem.

5th. The number of members as reported by the several branches to this Convention, are 474—No report having been received from the unrepresented branches.

6th. The President addressed the Convention in writing, on the subject of its deliberations, which address this Convention directs to be printed in the "Genius of Universal Emancipation."

7th. *Resolved*, That James Caldwell, William Snoddy, Samuel McNeas and Jesse Lockhart, be a committee to take into consideration the President's address, and report on such parts thereof as may require the deliberation of the Convention.

8th. *Resolved*, That John Caldwell, David Stanfield and John Kerr, be a committee to draw up an address to the several branches, and report it to a future sitting of this Convention.

9th. *Resolved*, That John Caldwell, Jesse Lockhart and William Snoddy, be a committee to draw up an address to the several religious societies, and report to a future sitting of this Convention.

10th. The committee appointed at last Convention to draft a memorial to Congress, report non-compliance: Therefore, it is *Resolved*, That Robert M. Anderson and Jesse Lockhart, be a committee to prepare a memorial to Congress, which, being approved by the committee of inspection, shall be signed by the President, and forwarded to Congress.

11th. *Resolved*, That Stephen Brooks, Thomas Doan, Wesley Earnest and Abram Marshall, with James Jones, the President, be the Committee of Inspection for the ensuing year; and that any two of them, with the President, constitute a quorum.

12th. The committee appointed last year to visit the *Sullivan, Knoxville & Powell's Valley* Branches, reported thereon.

13th. *Resolved*, That this Convention request each member of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, to contribute twelve and an half cents, or as much more as he may please, to defray the contingent expences of the Society.

14th. The President, James Jones, is

requested to prepare a memorial to Congress on the subject of slavery, & report it to next Convention.

15th. The committee appointed by last Convention to draw a concise statement of the views and motives of the Manumission Society, report non-compliance.

16th. *Resolved*, That the President be authorized to employ an agent to travel as far as the funds of the Society will permit, to promote the object of the institution, and to furnish such with the proper credentials.

The Convention then adjourned to 10 o'clock, to-morrow morning.

Eighth Mo. (August) 13th. The Convention met near the time adjourned to.

17th. The corresponding committee appointed last year, failing to report:—*Resolved therefore*, That John Caldwell, James Caldwell and John Swain, be the corresponding committee for the ensuing year, and that they report to next annual convention.

18th. The committee appointed to draw up an address to the several branches, reported one, which underwent its first reading.

19th. The committee appointed to draw up an address to the several religious societies, reported one, which also underwent its first reading.

20th. The address to the branches, & that to the religious societies, each were read the second time.

21st. The committee appointed at last Convention, to correspond with members of the State Legislature, read two letters from a member of the Senate; also, an answer to one of them.—Also, an address to the present session of the Legislature, by way of report; which were satisfactory to this Convention.

22d. The address to the branches, and the address to the several religious societies, were each read a third time, with each of which this Convention concurs; and directs the President to have the address to the branches printed at the expense of the Society, and to furnish each branch with a copy.

23d. *Resolved*, That the address to the religious denominations be put into the hands of the Corresponding Committee for circulation.

24th. *Resolved*, That the President be directed to have the minutes of this Convention printed at the expense of the Society, and that he furnish each branch with a copy thereof.

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25th. *Resolved*, That the President write to the five branches that were not represented in this Convention, in order to stimulate them to a discharge of their duty in filling their representations in future.

26th. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented, through the President, to the inhabitants, residing in the neighborhood of Lost Creek meeting house, for the kind treatment the members of this Convention received of them.

27th. *Resolved*, That the next annual Convention of the Mission Society of Tennessee, be held at Lost Creek Meeting House, Jefferson County, on the Second day (Monday) succeeding the 2d Seventh day (Saturday) in the 3th month (August) 1823 at 10 o'clock, A. M. and to consist of one twentieth of the members of each branch; excepting when a branch may not consist of 20 members, in which case, such branch to be entitled to one representative—to which time, & place this Convention adjourns.

Done in Convention.

JAMES JONES, Prest.

Attest—JOHN COULSON, Clk pro. tem.

THE LATE CONSPIRACY.

The following account of the late Conspiracy of the Blacks in South Carolina, gives, perhaps, as authentic a narrative of the principal incidents of the case, as any that has yet made its appearance.—Peculiar circumstances place it out of the editor's power, at present, to make any comment on it. But something relative to this affair may be expected hereafter.

Copy of a letter from the governor of the state of South Carolina.

[EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

Charleston, Aug. 10, 1822.

SIR:—After a prolonged and almost uninterrupted session of six weeks, the first court organized for the trial of slaves charged with an attempt to raise an insurrection in this city, was dissolved on the 20th ult. Another court was subsequently convened, and, after a session of three days, closed the unpleasant investigation with which it was charged, and adjourned on the 8th instant, *sine die*.

During the interesting period occupied by the court first organized, the public mind was agitated by a variety of rumors, calculated to produce great excitement and alarm. These had their

origin in the nature of the transaction, & the secrecy and seclusion observed in the incipient stages of the inquiry; as but few of the circumstances were known to the community, and the number apprehended and sentenced to the severest punishment, beyond any former example. Certainty gave place to exaggeration, and the general impression sustained the rumor of a very extensive conspiracy.

The effects resulting from these reports, if uncontrolled by an exhibition of facts are too obvious to require comment. The reputation of the state must suffer abroad, and a rapid deterioration of property occur within; while suspicion and anxiety will continue long to mar the public tranquillity. It becomes, therefore, a duty imperiously obligatory on me, to represent the occurrences as they have transpired, and thus evidence to you that the attempt has not only been greatly magnified, but as soon as discovered it ceased to be dangerous.

A servant, prompted by attachment to his master, communicated to him that he had been requested to give his assent & subscribe his name to a list of persons already engaged in the conspiracy.—The intendant immediately received the information, and caused the arrest of three slaves of Mr. Paul—one of whom was subsequently identified by the servant making the communication. The city council was convened, and after a very close and attentive examination, a general impression was produced that but little credence could attach to the statement. A prudent caution was nevertheless exercised, and the fellow charged committed to solitary imprisonment. A few days after his confinement, he made many disclosures to a member of the council, and so amplified the circumstances that the utmost credulity was requisite to the belief of his tale.

Some consternation was obviously produced amongst a few of the conspirators by the arrest of these slaves, and I cannot doubt led to a detail more plausible and deserving of attention. Another servant, whose name is also concealed, from prudential motives, stated, generally that such a combination actually existed, and mentioned the names of several who were most conspicuous in their exertions, adding, with great confidence that the explosion of their schemes would occur on the ensuing Sunday

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night. This confession was given on Thursday, the 13th June, and contained the recital of several occurrences which would precede the attempt and evidence the intention. This suggested the propriety, while it sanctioned the effort to conceal from the community the intelligence thus received, for the intervening time—during which extensive and efficient preparations were made for the safety and protection of the city. Saturday night and Sunday morning passed without the predicted demonstrations; doubts were again excited, and counter orders issued for diminishing the guard. The facts communicated were generally known to our fellow citizens on Sunday; producing a night of sleepless anxiety. But no one of the predicted (or any other) occurrences presented itself to disturb the general tranquility.

On the 18th June ten slaves were arrested, and on the 19th the court was organized for their trial. Investigation was retarded by the difficulty of procuring authentic evidence, and it was not until the 28th that the sentence of death was pronounced against six of the persons charged with the offence. Denmark Vessey, a free negro, was arrested on the 21st, and on the 22d put on his trial.—Although he was unquestionably the instigator and chief of this plot, no positive proof of his guilt appeared until the 25th. This grew out of the confession of one of the convicts, and on the 27th his guilt was further established by a servant of Mr. Ferguson.

The progress made, and the expectations of immunity from punishment by confession, gradually developed the plot, and produced the arrest of several others, fortunately two who were principals, Monday Gell, and Gullah Jack. These, with three others, John Horry, Charles Drayton and Harry Haig, were convicted and sentenced to die on Friday the 12th of July last; but at the suggestion of the court that important communications were expected from them, Monday Gell, Charles Drayton and Harry Haig were respited.

The arrest of Perault, a servant of Mr. Stohecker, which took place the day previous to the respite, and the general and very important discoveries made by him, enabled the committee of vigilance, not only to elicit the confirmation of his statement from the three convicts, but to apprehend a great number of persons en-

gaged in the plot. Among others, Wm. Garner, reputed to be one of the principals, the only one not then apprehended.

The number of persons at this period under arrest, evinced the necessity of such arrangements of the testimony as would enable the court to progress with more rapidity. This duty devolved on the committee of vigilance: and principally from the general information of Perault, and of the convicts Monday Gell and Charles Drayton, facility was given to the further proceedings of the court.—In the short space of seven days, thirty-two negroes were convicted; twenty-two of whom were executed on Friday, the 20th July: and within four days after, 11 others were convicted, four of whom have also been executed.

Having established the existence of a plot, and the places of rendezvous, all that was deemed requisite for conviction was to prove an association with the ringleaders, and an expression of their assent to the measure. On such, generally, the sentence of death has been executed. Others who, without actually combining, were proved to have known of the conspiracy, and to have given their sanction by any act, have been sentenced to die, and their punishment commuted to banishment from the United States. In this manner, the whole, number seventy-two, have been disposed of; thirty-five executed, and thirty-seven sentenced to banishment. With these we may reasonably conclude that we have reached the extremities of this conspiracy, and this opinion, if not conclusive, is entitled to great weight, when we advert to the extraordinary measures pursued to effect the object and the motives which influenced the accused.

No means which experience or ingenuity could devise were left unessayed, to eviscerate the plot. In the labors of investigation the court was preceded by a committee formed by the city council, whose intelligence, activity, and zeal, were well adapted to the arduous duties of their appointment. Their assiduity, aided by the various sentiments which influenced the prisoners, produced a rapid development of the plot. Several of the conspirators had entered into solemn pledges to partake of a common destiny, & one at least, was found, who, after his arrest, felt no repugnance to enforce the obligation, by surrendering the names of his associates. A spirit of

retaliation and revenge produced a similar effect with others, who suspected that they were the victims of treachery, and this principle operated with full effect, as the hope or expectation of pardon predominated. To the last hour of the existence of several, who appeared to be conspicuous actors in this drama, they were pressingly importuned to make further confession.

Among the conspirators, the most daring and active was Monday, the slave of Mr. Gell. He could read and write with facility, and thus attained an extraordinary and dangerous influence over his fellows. Permitted by his owner to occupy a house in a central part of the city, hourly opportunities were afforded for the exercise of his skill on those who were attracted to his shop by business or favor. It was there that his artful and insidious delusions were kept in perpetual exercise. Materials were abundantly furnished in the seditious pamphlets brought into this state, by equally culpable incendiaries; while the speeches of the oppositionists in congress to the admission of Missouri, gave a serious and imposing effect to his machinations. This man wrote to Boyer (by his own confession) requesting his aid, and addressed the envelope of his letter to a relative of the person who became the bearer of it, a negro from one of the northern states. He was the only person proved to have kept a list of those engaged; and the court considered his confession full and ample. From such means and such sources of information, it cannot be doubted that all who were actually concerned, have been brought to justice. There is no exception within my knowledge; it has, however, been stated, that a plantation in St. John's was infected, but I do not know on what authority.

This plain detail of the principal incidents in this transaction, will satisfy you that the scheme has not been general nor alarmingly extensive. And it furnishes a cause for much satisfaction, that, although religion, superstition, fear, and almost every passion that sways the human mind, have been artfully used by the instigators of this design, so few have been seduced from a course of propriety and obedience. Those who associated were unprovided with the means of attack or resistance. No weapons (if we except 13 hoop-poles, have been discovered; nor any testimony received but

of six pikes, that such preparations were actually made. The witnesses generally agree in one fact, that the attempt was to have taken place on Sunday night the 16th June, differing a little as to the precise time; 12 o'clock appears to have been the hour.

From the various conflicting statements made during the trials, it is difficult to form a plausible conjecture of their ultimate plans of operation; no two agreeing on general definite principles. That the first essay would be made with clubs against the state arsenal is inferrible, from their being unprovided with arms, and the concurrence of several witnesses. But whether the attack would be made simultaneously by various detachments, or whether the whole, embodied at a particular spot, would proceed to the accomplishment of their object, is very uncertain. Upon the whole it is manifest that if any plan had been organized, it was never communicated by the principal conspirator to the leaders or the men, as they were wholly ignorant even of the places of rendezvous; although within two days of the time appointed, and but one man arrested prior to the day fixed on for the attempt.

When we contrast the numbers engaged with the magnitude of the enterprise, the imputation of egregious folly or madness is irresistible: and supposing the attempt to have been predicated on the probability, that partial success would augment their numbers, the utmost presumption would scarcely have hazarded the result. Servility long continued, debases the mind and abstracts it from that energy of character, which is fitted to great exploits. It cannot be supposed, therefore, without a violation of the immutable laws of nature, that a transition from slavery & degradation to authority & power, could instantly occur. Great & general excitement may produce extensive and alarming effects; but the various passions which operate with powerful effect on this class of persons, impart a confident assurance of detection and defeat of every similar design. While the event is remote, they may listen with credulity to the artful tale of the instigator, & concur in its plausibility; but the approach of danger will invariably produce treachery, the concomitant of dastardly dispositions. In the fidelity and attachment of a numerous class of these persons, we have other sources of secu-

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rity and early information; from both of which, it is reasonable to conclude, that, in proportion to the number engaged, will be the certainty of detection; and that an extensive conspiracy cannot be matured in this state.

I have entered with much reluctance on this detail, nor would it have been considered requisite, but to counteract the number of gross and idle reports, actively and extensively circulated, and producing a general anxiety and alarm. And, although their authors may have no evil design, and may really be under the delusion, it is easy to perceive what pernicious consequences may ensue from not applying the proper corrective. Every individual in the state is interested, whether in relation to his own property, or the reputation of the state, in giving no more importance to the transaction than it justly merits. The legislature has wisely provided the means of efficient protection. If the citizens will faithfully perform the duty enjoined on them by the patrol laws, I fear not we shall continue in the enjoyment of as much tranquillity and safety as any state in the union.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

THO. BENNETT.

INDEPENDENCE OF HAYTI.

The following communication, however strong prejudice & the force of education, and circumstances may be, cannot but be read with interest.—*Niles.*

From the Boston Centinel of Aug. 10.

PRESIDENT OF HAYTI.

[Having learned that one of our respectable citizens had received a letter from president Boyer, of Hayti, on the subject of the acknowledgment of the independence of that republic, and of commercial arrangements between her and the United States, we have requested a copy for publication; and the receiver of it, has made his personal disinclination to the publicity of a complimentary document yield to his desire to afford information to the public. the perusal of this letter will shew, that those islanders who have so long struggled for liberty and independence, know and will justly appreciate their rights; and that of political morality, and just views of national interest, this letter is equal to any white's production. The mind of man in bursting the fetters of tyranny a-

wakes to new life and energy, and asserting the chartered rights of nature, evinces an elevation unknown to those in thralldom. Genius, bravery, and high moral attainment, are confined to no zone, nor color, but where freedom is, there will they flourish. The people of Hayti are not fully understood but the prejudices against them are fast wearing away, and the day, we trust, is not far distant when the United States will acknowledge their independence, with the full consent, not only of the philanthropist, but of the sagacious statesman.]

[DUPLICATE.]

REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.

Jean Pierre Boyer, president of Hayti, to Mr. Dodge, at North Salem, Massachusetts.

"At Port au Prince, 16th Aug. 1821,
19th year of Independence.

"I have received, sir, the letter of 9th April last, which you have been pleased to address to me. I have read it with all the attention which it merits, and all the interest which the sentiment it inspires, dictated. I cannot but applaud the manifestation of zeal and philanthropy which animates you, and the wish which you have formed of seeing your government, and those of Europe, acknowledge the independence of the republic of Hayti. For the interests of humanity and national morality, it should be wished that the rights of the people might be recognized throughout all the civilized world, and that relations, reciprocally advantageous, might be established between states destined to exchange the products of their soil. Considered in this point and view, it cannot be denied that Hayti is of great importance in the scale of commerce. It is then to be hoped that time and experience, enlightening governments upon their true interests, and destroying all the prejudices founded on trifling and absurd considerations, will produce the reign of a wise and reasonable policy, and will cause the governments to feel the necessity of acknowledging the independence of the *Queen of the Antilles.*

"Desirous of being elevated to the rank of civilized nations, and believing that the surest means of accomplishing that object is to establish mutual relations with other nations, and to favor all which can contribute to the developement of the human faculties, the Haytians will always be disposed to listen to every pro-

position, officially made, or from individuals, which may be made to them with the view of effecting the establishment of useful relations. At the same time that they desire to establish a good understanding with the states which may have commercial relations with them, they think, that before making any diplomatic communication, tending to bring about this happy state of affairs, it would be proper that they should know what were the dispositions of those governments towards them, and in what manner a step taken with this view would be received.

"As to what concerns particularly the government of the United States, I am willing to believe, that the obstacles which, until now, have prevented it from pronouncing itself in favor of the independence of the republic of Hayti, will disappear from the moment it shall yield weak considerations to the honor of rendering a brilliant homage to the principles to which it is indebted for its political existence.

"The friends of liberty in the United States, who interest themselves particularly in the fate of the Haytiens, may, by continuing to exercise a happy influence upon the public opinion by their writings, ascertain the intentions of their government as to what concerns the acknowledgment of the independence of Hayti.

"As you, sir, who are animated by so noble a zeal for every thing which can contribute to the happiness of mankind, and who have so well proved the lively interest which you take in the cause of the Haytiens, by the useful and judicious observations which you have addressed to me, receive, with my thanks, for the good dispositions which you entertain towards us, the assurance of my distinguished consideration. "BOYER."

[Notwithstanding the strong current of prejudice which has for ages been beating with unabated fury, on the unfortunate descendants of Africa—notwithstanding the long established opinion among many wise men of the world, that Africa was predestinated to propagate a race of servants, over which heaven willed that the rest of mankind should domineer—and notwithstanding it has been so long believed that her sable children were inferior in intellect to those of a fairer skin, the blacks of Hayti are rearing a political fabric which bids fair to rival the nations around.]

MUSES' BOWER, And Miscellaneous Department.

*Americans, forced for the rights of men kind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

The corruptions which have crept into the Christian Church by its apostacy from its pristine purity, represented under the character of a monster, spreading ruin and misery on the earth; with the pleasing prospect of its final restoration to its primitive splendour.

A POEM.

From the realms of confusion, a demon ascended,

And sped him away to the earth,
When there, light and darkness together he blended,

Which brought forth a horrible birth:
The monster produc'd, was a two headed being,

Of *Seraph* and *Dragon* combin'd,
The rest of his members, although not agreeing,

Were closely together entwin'd.
The people soon view'd him with pleasing emotion;

His beauty attracted their eyes,
The shape, and the features, so suited their notion,

They said that he came from the skies!
He enter'd the temples, the clergy embrac'd him,

And zealously preach'd up his fame;
With rich decorations, and honors they grac'd him,

And call'd him *religion* by name.
Now see the huge monster through nations patrolling,

And spreading confusion around,
No tears he is drying, nor sorrows consoling,

But adding to misery's wound.
Instead of the garment of peace and salvation,

He's clad in a vesture of mail,
His retinue plunging in sad devastation,
The regions of peace they assail!

With pride and ambition his temples are crowned,

And avarice follows in train;
For bloodshed and slaughter, he's greatly renowned,

For millions, by him have been slain:—
Through pride he bewitches his butchering legions,

Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

With fury to rush on the tomb,
And try, unprepared, death's dark gloomy regions,

And venture the wrath that's to come!
Such valour, he says, will be greatly renowned,—

That riches, and honours they'll gain,
With laurels of glory their heads will be crowned,

And glittering trophies of fame.
Thus wealth, fame and grandeur's his highest ambition—

In gorgeous glitter to shine;
The spirit he breaths is the breath of perdition,

Although he's esteemed divine!
His votaries live on the gain of oppression,

As well as by slaughter and blood—
Thus brother holds brother as legal possession,

And say it's the law of their God!
Hence, some, for the purpose of living in splendour,

Their brethren enslave and disgrace;
Compel them, their rights, and their ease to surrender,

In bondage to toil all their days;—
Yet call themselves Christians, and talk much of heaven,

And say they are bound for the skies—
Are openly boasting their sins are forgiven,

While deaf to humanity's cries!
The two headed *Dragon* with horrid delusion,

Bewilders his worshiping throng,
Hence sorrow, and misery, woe, and confusion,

In torrents are rolling along.
The films of confusion the mental ray dimming,

To the monster, *Corruption* gave birth,

Uniting religion with popular sinning,
And cursing with sorrow, the earth!

But light, breaking forth from the heavenly region,

Shall all his enchantments dispel,
No longer the nations shall take for religion

A monster, engender'd in hell;
For Christ, long provok'd by his long usurpation,

In wrath, will contend for his right,—
Will strip the huge monster of all trans-formation,

And bring his delusions to light;—
By the Spirit of his mouth, the Lord shall consume him,

And by his bright coming destroy,
Then shall the wild desert, like Eden, be blooming,

The wilderness singing for joy.
Religion, then stript of all human inventions,

Its pure native form shall assume;—
Its nature contrary to bloody contentions,

And slavery's horrible gloom!—
All darkness, confusion, and error dispelling,

Christianity pure, will have birth,—
'Tis the leaves of the tree, once intended for healing

All moral disorders on earth.
COLUMBIAN BARD.

From a late Baltimore Paper.
MOST DARING OUTRAGE.

Fortune Lewis, a black boy of about five and twenty years old, was a slave regularly manumitted, discharged and recorded by his master, a gentleman of this city. On the evening of the 25th of July last, between the hours of nine and ten, as he was returning to his place of residence, and passing through Pratt st. extended, he received in his chest so violent a blow from an unknown hand, that he fell down incapable of recollection. During this state of temporary insensibility, he was bound hand and foot; after he had recovered his senses he found himself in possession of two white men, who carried him along as they would do a bale of goods, to the place of his destination. He attempted to cry for assistance, but he was instantly strangled by the throat so violently that he was compelled to desist; he was further informed, that if he endeavored to raise an alarm, immediate death would be the consequence. He was taken to, and confined in a **WHITE HOUSE** situated on the north side of Pratt street extended, a short distance east, where it is intersected by the Washington turnpike road. He was left alone in a dark room, as he conceives, for the space of an hour. He was then with two other black men, placed in a carriage, and driven at a rapid pace through the night, uncertain whether he was going, until the dawn of day. At this time, the carriage stopped, and the victim of such unexampled barbarity, was lodged in the jail at Washington. After having been confined for two days, he ventured to enquire of the jailor for what offence he had

been committed, when he was informed that he had been imprisoned as a runaway slave. Whereupon, he informed the jailor that he was a free man, and authenticated the fact by papers which were concealed in a part of his clothing, and which fortunately eluded the fingers of the kidnappers, although his pockets had been searched, as is proved by the fact of his being robbed by the man thieves, of the sum of seven dollars, which he had received that evening from Burtis Comegys, esq. in pay for some carpenter's work which he had just finished.

The jailor having inspected the papers, left the prisoner about three quarters of an hour, and on his return informed him that he was at liberty to go about his business. Finding himself at liberty in a strange place, and without a cent of funds, he hired himself to a carpenter named Bolter, for four days, by which he earned money enough to defray his expenses back to Baltimore; he accordingly left Washington, and arrived in this city on Saturday evening last.

The laws of our country have denounced death for offences of this kind, the kidnapping of free blacks, if the deed is done upon the water. There is no law we believe that makes the deed so highly penal, if perpetrated on land. The difference in the legal criminality of the deed, is its being done on land and on water. But these kidnappers are doubly guilty—for they not only stole the man, but robbed him of his money also. The honor of our city appears deeply to be implicated in the detection and punishment of such villains. We hope the proper authority will see to it.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Georgia, to his friend in Newark, dated July, 1805.

While on this subject, (the importation of negroes) I will relate an affecting anecdote which came to my knowledge yesterday. My neighbor, Mr. B. had purchased twenty of that unfortunate race a few weeks ago in Charleston, among whom was a woman of about twenty years of age. On the way home, they stopped the night at a house on the road, just as the negroes belonging to the owner of the place, were returning from their labour in the field. One of them proved to be the husband of the woman. They had been torn asunder two years before in Africa. They met in this dis-

tant cline and with such emotions of joy, mixed with bitterness and grief, on the recollection of their past and present condition, as may be more easily conceived than described. They flew to each other! asked an hundred questions, and looking at the spectators who sympathised in their feeling, declared they would never more be parted. Mr. B. who is a man of humanity, was present at the affecting scene. He immediately offered the owner of the husband to sell the wife, or to purchase the husband, but in vain! He then offered two negroes for the man, but the wretch would do neither. The momentary pleasure the poor creatures experienced, when Mr. B. was endeavoring to prevent their being again separated, was converted into frantic agony when they saw nothing would avail.—All who were present, black and white, united in entreaties; and every eye but the miscreant owner of the husband was in tears. Nothing could soften his obdurate heart; and the unhappy victims of his cruelty were a second time literally torn asunder.

South Carolina. A further investigation of the late insurrectionary plot of the blacks is going on—seven or eight more have been found guilty and sentenced to death; but their punishment has been commuted to perpetual banishment from the U. States. If any of them should return, they are to be executed on the Friday following their apprehension.

Niles.

TERMS.

The *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is published monthly, in Greeneville, Greene County, Tennessee, at one dollar per annum, payable in advance. The difficulty in collecting small sums at a distance, renders a strict adherence to this rule indispensably necessary.

✍ The currency, or such Bank bills as may be in general circulation in the different States or Territories in which subscribers reside, will be received in payment.

✍ Any person who will procure six subscribers, and forward the money to the Editor, will be entitled to one year's papers, gratis.

✍ Letters and Communications to the Editor (those from agents excepted) must be sent free of expense, or they will not be attended to.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 4. VOL. II.

TENTH MONTH, 1822.

WHOLE No. 16.

Absence from home has prevented the editor from noticing sundry occurrences which will be attended to as soon as leisure is afforded.

Maxima illecebra est peccandi impunitatis spes.—CICERO.

It appears that some of the advocates of Slavery in Kentucky and Missouri are getting excessively alarmed at the progress of the liberal principles of freedom and justice in the South western States. They perceive that the friends of genuine republicanism are continually increasing in numbers, and daily gaining strength. They dread the idea of an exposure of their usurpations, and a curtailment of the privileges they have derived therefrom; and they tremble in the expectation that the Lion of American despotism will be overcome by those infant Hercules's the Emancipators. The principles of Universal Liberty, like the deluge of old, will yet overwhelm the corruptions in the political world, and the miserable sons of avarice will lose their influence as did a greater part of our antediluvian ancestors their existence. The probability of this is becoming more and more apparent. In most parts of Christendom, Public Opinion has long been tainted with the ulcerous gangrene of superstitious folly and feudal wickedness, but yielding to the renovating influence of virtue and apostolic purity, its march will be with power, and tyranny and oppression, whatever shape they may assume, must vanish before it.

Since the removal of this work from Ohio to Tennessee, my editorial conduct has been made the subject of pretty severe criticism; and lest I may be charged with impoliteness, or a neglect of courtesy towards a few gentlemen Editors, I consider it proper to notice some of their remarks, which were designed to have a bearing upon me.

The editor of a paper entitled "*The Columbian*," published at Henderson, Ky. has stepped forth in defence of the odious and disgusting principle of Slavery, and altho' he acknowledges it to be a

"national evil," prostitutes his press to uphold the horrid system. In the early part of the last summer a writer in the paper alluded to, as well as the editor himself, made an attack upon the Abolition Intelligencer. The editor of the Intelligencer took some notice thereof, but I did not at that time know that I had also been complimented by the gentlemen. A copy of the *Columbian* was directed to me at Mount Pleasant, but in consequence of my removal, as aforesaid, I never saw it until lately. This is the only reason why it has not been noticed sooner. Having but little room in this number, I shall insert the editorial article from the *Columbian*, and accompany it with a few notes.

A writer in the St. Genevieve "*Correspondent*," has also given me a rap over the knuckles, for which I "owe him at least, one."

From the Columbian.

"Several persons in this and the adjoining states seem to have been lately seized with the *emancipation mania*; among the most prominent may be reckoned a Mr. Benjamin Lundy, and Mr. John Finley Crow, who push their visionary schemes with the ardor of young enthusiasts, (a) and appear to place their hopes of success in a course of proceeding little calculated to ensure it.—Slavery is undoubtedly a national evil, but we conceive that the measures necessary to remove it, are very different from those advocated by many who write against it. (b) If it be, (and there can be no doubt of it) a correct maxim, that ignorance is the parent of vice, (c) what would be the consequence of an immediate (d) emancipation of our numerous black population? An influx of every description of crime, a demoralization of society, and the complete destruction of a great portion of the productive industry (e) of our country. This being the case, the only safe course to be pursued in this exigency, is very obvious. Let them be enlightened first, (f) that they may be fitted for becoming useful members of the community to which they may eventually belong; which in our

opinion, ought to be as far removed as possible from their present residence; and then transport them gradually to the coast of Africa, which there is no doubt is the most proper place for their future location. As freemen, in the true sense of the word, they could never exist in these states. Although the law might give them the right, custom would withhold it from them, (g) and they could not enjoy the same advantages, nor aspire to the same privileges, with regard to their eligibility to office and standing in society, as the whites.

We have been led thus to give our views on this subject, by some remarks in the 'Abolition Intelligencer,' accusing us of approbating a writer destitute of 'candor and moral honesty;' we would inform our fellow editor, that the writer of 'Non Emancipator' was merely a transient person, (h) and has long since left this place, and therefore may not have the pleasure of perusing his remarks. We are not prepared to say whether his charges against the Intelligencer are well founded or not, as we have seen only one number of that paper; but in our humble opinion, some of Mr. Crow's positions are as untenable as any of 'Non Emancipator's;' Mr. Crow says, 'that the proud spirit of man in them (the slaves) is broken,' and asks, 'has he the unblushing assurance to deny the fact?' Yes, we think he can with propriety deny it, and assert that they never did possess any such spirit, and a little acquaintance with them will convince any unprejudiced person their actions proceed from very base motives, and that they have very little of that just pride which they should possess. (i)

He triumphantly exclaims, 'the benign and heaven born religion of our favored land gives no countenance to such conduct;' that is, we suppose, to holding slaves. If this modern oracle consults his bible, he will find many passages, which if they do not directly advocate slavery, will abundantly prove it was extensively practised by the chosen people of God, and that even the writers of the New Testament exhorted 'servants,' a word which, when used by them in the sense we have quoted it, always signified slaves (k) "to be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh." These are the words of the pious, learned and eloquent St. Paul, written at a period when the condition of slaves was

infinitely worse than it is now, for their owners then possessed the power of life and death. (l) Can any rational man suppose that St. Paul did not possess as much genuine compassion for their deplorable situation, as any of these modern pretenders to superabundant humanity? yet he was contented to take things as he found them, (m) and incited every one to a faithful discharge of the duties of that situation in life in which they had been placed by Divine Providence. Had he been an emancipator of the stamp of Lundy, Crow and others, his language would have been, 'be ye disobedient to them that are your masters, for they have no right to your services.' (n)

NOTES AND REMARKS.

a. Nothing is more common than for those to be charged with *enthusiasm* who endeavour to expose and eradicate the corruptions and abuses in society, especially if they shew any degree of activity and use proper exertions to effect their object. From the day of Nimrod down to the present moment, there has existed in the breasts of some, a disposition to trample on the rights of their fellow creatures; and in most cases, those who possess the *power* to "lord it over God's heritage," are willing to hold on to it while they can live at their ease, and riot in luxury at the expense of others, regardless of reason, justice, or mercy.—No matter what may be the title by which they are distinguished, or the station they occupy, whether King, Prince, feudal Lord, or Negro Baron, the observation will hold good with all of them.

b. This acknowledgment comes with a very ill grace from one who volunteers himself as the champion and advocate of slaveholders and slave-dealers; and the sequel of the paragraph plainly shows that he is anxious to find fault without a cause; for he admits that to effect the liberation of the black population, the same measures must be adopted that are recommended by the advocates of emancipation generally.

c. Why then, in the name of common sense, are the slaves in our country kept in ignorance?

d. Nobody urges an "immediate" liberation of the slaves. The friends of emancipation recommend the *gradual* abolition of the system.—The frequent repetition of the insinuation serves to shew, that some of our opponents are actuated by a kind of polemic roguery that

is not very honorable to them.

e. Would it be a means of effecting a "complete destruction" of the "productive industry of our country," if our ignorant and degraded slaves were converted into intelligent citizens, or if they were removed, and their place filled by such?—Would not freemen make as good artisans, and would not our lands produce as well as they now do, if cultivated by patriot hands?

f. That is precisely what we wish; but why do you not assist us in it, instead of laying upon us "burdens grievous to be borne, without even touching them with one of your little fingers?"

g. Pardon me, my friend, when I state it as my candid opinion that all this is sheer nonsense. A wicked and silly custom would vanish when they as well as ourselves, should become enlightened.

h. One of those inhuman villians, a slave trader, no doubt.

i. I ask pardon again, for expressing my most unqualified dissent from the doctrine thus held forth. "Human nature is all in all." And moreover, all men are created equal."—So says our declaration of independence. But there is no necessity for multiplying observations on this head. Any person conversant with history can at once perceive the weakness and fatility of such argument. We, yes, WE, have derived our knowledge of the arts and sciences from the blacks. And altho they make a sorry appearance among us, a majority of slaveholders need not be told how the "proud spirit of man may be broken," or even how he may be degraded to a level with the brute creation. Touching that point, they could easily furnish us with lessons of instruction:

k. There is nothing which appears more odious and disgusting to the mind of a Christian and a Philanthropist, than an attempt to wrest the Sacred Scriptures to suit the unholy purposes of the advocates of oppression. I boldly assert that neither this writer nor any other can find a single passage in the New Testament that will justify the belief that any who were instrumental in teaching its doctrines ever countenanced the crime of perpetual slavery; and further, I unhesitatingly challenge him to produce facts to substantiate his argument.

l. Infinitely worse than it is now!" This is morally impossible: for in many

parts of our country there is nothing to prevent the master from exercising a degree of rigor which extorts every thing but life; and even in case of actual murder, there have been frequent instances of the heaven daring wretches being dismissed on the payment of a paltry fine, the amount of which had previously been wrested from the hard earnings of the victim!!!—Is not this "possessing the power of life and death?"

m. If Paul "was contented to take things as he found them," and did not wish to introduce any change, why did he preach so much?—He must, (if this be true) have been a very inconsistent man!

n. Thankee.—But my friend, thee will get no fee for putting such language as this in our mouths, for it is such as we have never been willing to utter. To say the least of it, the attempt to palm such sentiments upon us, betrays a wanton and malignant disposition, to misrepresent our thoughts and actions, and is best treated by a silent contempt. Some little allowance must however be made for the delicate situation of the advocates of slavery. Owing to the badness of their cause, they are under the necessity of imputing to the friends of emancipation motives which they have ever disclaimed, or they would have no grounds for argument.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
(Continued from page 140, Vol. I.)

Thirdly. And unless forfeited by some crime against the just laws of their country, they are equally entitled to their liberty.

This proposition would be self evident, among a people who acknowledge "all men by nature free," had not avarice drawn a veil over the understanding of our nominal republicans, and sophistry set up her standard as reason. Hence, in this enlightened christian land, and among a people too whose motto is "liberty and equal rights," it has become necessary to prove that "all men are by nature free;" a fact which strongly corroborates the truth of an ancient proverb, that, "It is easier to preach than to practice." Indeed, our far famed, but, in this respect, justly stigmatized republic, has, ever since the revolution, been preaching the equal right which all men have to this invaluable blessing, this jewel of life: where, (tell it not in Gath, pub-

lish it not in Askelon,) at this very day there groan beneath the scourge of American task masters, *two hundred thousand* human beings, whose greatest crime is their impotence and sable hue! Well may it be said, woe unto you, ye boasted republican United States, hypocrites, for you are like unto whitened sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful without, but are within full of dead men's bones, and all uncleanness. Woe unto you, for ye lade men with heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, but ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your little fingers.

Objection. But it is said slaves are our property, guaranteed by law.

To the antecedent part of this assertion, I answer, that cannot be, for this very sufficient reason; they are men, and "all men are by nature free." Justice cannot have made them your property, for justice they have not offended. Neither can religion; for slavery is inconsistent with her heavenly disposition: She never can rivet the fetters of a slave. On the contrary, within her happy dominions, behold him clothed in the garments of humility, his countenance beaming with love, breaking the heavy yoke, and saying to the oppressed *go free*.—There the shackles of slavery fall. There the wound of tyranny is healed. There the reign of usurpation ceases. In short, there man is permitted to walk with countenance erect, and receive his Creator's benediction of *liberty and equality*. But would you behold a complication of injustice, tyranny, heathenism, pride, criminal incest, and unrestrained passions, on the one hand, and of degradation, ignorance, and wretchedness the most abject, on the other, turn your eyes to yonder despots riveting their hellish shackles on the sable sons of the torrid regions; and rioting on the fruits of their brother's toil, wrested from them by laws, the injustice of which was never excelled, even in the darkest ages of Pagan idolatry or Popish superstition.—They are guaranteed to us by law. This is admitted. But they are laws against nature, reason, justice, and christianity. Laws, not of right, but of power. Laws, founded on usurpation, and supported by tyranny. And it is believed to be an incontrovertible truth, that just so far as the laws enacted by highwaymen to secure the property procured by rapine & plunder, are justifiable, just so far are

those by which man is made a slave: founded upon fundamental principles and consistent with our declaration of rights.

Objection. But they are ours by contract and fair purchase.

Ah, indeed! did not you lose a horse some time since? Yes, he was stolen out of my stable, taken about fifty miles and sold to a gentleman as a match horse, for one hundred and forty dollars. Then I suppose you got him again. Upon my word if he had not given him up he should have smoked for his pains. And perhaps justly too. But you doubtless paid the gentleman his one hundred and forty dollars again. Not I, indeed. Though, to do him justice, I believe he had no suspicion the horse was stolen; still he was my property, and as such he became accountable, and must seek his redress from the person of whom the purchase was made. Do you think the gentleman was entirely innocent? Undoubtedly. I dare not harbour any other thought, tho' he might perhaps have acted rather imprudently, in making too hasty a purchase. Very probably: but do you not hold life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to belong naturally to every man, and that they cannot justly be taken from him, except as a forfeiture for some crime, or by his own consent? Most certainly I do: deny him these, and you degrade him to a level with brutes, subject to become the servile drudge of every petty tyrant that may please to act the lordling over him. Well which right are we to consider most sacred, that which proceeds immediately from the hand of Heaven, or that which is acquired? It must be the former, seeing it cannot be bartered or transferred to another, but the latter may be sold, given away, or thrown into public stock, for the benefit of the community. Now you are certainly aware that the right of property in the horse, is acquired, but the right which the negro has to his liberty is conferred upon him from his earliest infancy: it is his by birthright, his by nature, and his by the will of Omnipotence. Upon your own principle then, horse theft is not so culpable as man stealing. The horse thief takes the man's property; but you slaveholders take the man. He steals for himself; you employ others to steal for you. He takes the property of another, and sells it as his own; you hold your own offspring in slavery for life, or sell them to your accomplices in iniqui-

ty. He acts in direct violation of the laws of the land, and subjects himself, if taken, to its penalties; you render man a brute, and enact laws to give a sanction to your unhallowed work. He, in practising his nefarious designs, renounces all claim to morality or the endearing name of Christian; you hypocritically profess to conform to the doctrines and spirit of the gospel, and bow before the throne of a God, who we are assured is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, with any degree of approbation; and who when the foolish virgins cry, Lord! Lord! open unto us, will declare, "though you have prophesied in my name, and in my name done many wonderful works, yet I know you not, depart from me ye workers of iniquity." Hence, though you justly execrate the horse thief, and heap upon him the penalties of the law, yet, upon a fair comparison your conduct is as much worse than his, as the glimmering of the small star is less brilliant than the lustre of the midnight moon.

"On then, how blind to all that truth requires,
Who think it justice, when a part aspires,
And call it freedom when themselves are free."
HUMANITAS.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation
IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

NO. VII. May, 1822.

Endeared Sister:

My attention is continually kept awake to the novelties that surround me, and the various objects that present themselves to my notice, afford a wide field for busy and anxious thought; nor are the notions of many of the popular professors of religion, of these times, among the least of the items, which excite my astonishment, and animadversion. By continuing so long amongst the professing christians, noticed in some of my former communications, I have formed an acquaintance with several of them of different characters, and of different notions, respecting what is justifiable, and what is not, in the lives and conduct of christians.

Among my late acquaintances, not the least conspicuous, is ECCLESIASTICUS INJUSTITIA, who is a zealous propagator of what he terms, the doctrines of the Gospel. ECCLESIASTICUS is a slaveholder, though he acknowledge slaveholding to be wrong, and that slavery is a crime,

but palliates his offence by pleading the difficulty of freeing them, under the present existing laws—by comfortable accommodations afforded to them and by promising to liberate them, by Will, at his death. He has so far quieted his conscience through the medium of these palliatives, that in his public exhibitions, he frequently exults in the happy prospect of himself, and his slaves, with multitudes of others, in the like situation, "all getting to heaven together;" but whether he has anticipated a *kitchen* for the blacks in that happy region, or not, I have never yet heard him say. If *Ecclesiasticus* would but seriously consider that he is living in an acknowledged sin, he certainly would have more reasons for entertaining doubts, than hopes of that blissful event. There appears to be something quite paradoxical in the notions of friend *Ecclesiasticus*;—he acknowledges slave holding to be a sin, and yet he lives in the daily act of what he condemns; nor does he intend to put away his sin, until he can live no longer in it; when the same obstructions to it will stand in the way then, as do now, &c when palliatives will no longer be able to assuage the guilt of a man whose limit is, that men must be saved from sin, in life, or not at all!

If slave holding be wrong or sin, then it is an unholy thing; and as nothing that is unholy or unclean can enter into heaven, how can *Ecclesiastics*, who lives in an unholy act, expect to find admittance to a holy region, with, or without his slaves, till he is purified from his unholiness, which cannot take place but in his life time, (upon his own principles) nor then, until he has broken off his sin by righteousness, in restoring the *right of freedom* to those from whom he is now withholding it? I am afraid that *Ecclesiasticus* pays more attention to his temporal interests, in all his religious professions, than he does to his spiritual; and that he is less concerned for the rights of man, than he is for the accumulation of wealth; otherwise, in his circumstances, he might convey his slaves to some place, where he could emancipate them without detriment; and settle them comfortably for life, even upon their own past earnings.

If *Ecclesiasticus* had not acknowledged slaveholding to be a crime, the inconsistency of his profession and practice had not been so glaring, but to confess

that he is living in an act of injustice, which he does not intend to cease from till death, when it shall be out of his power to be unjust any longer, discovers a mind tinctured with insanity, or under the influence of some fatal delusion! It appears to me that he is a secret sentimental slave holder, and acts the hypocrite, by saying that slavery is a crime, to gain the esteem of a party, or else that he is sinning against the dictates of his own conscience, and is promising himself heaven upon—no body knows what foundation! If either of these be his situation, what sort of a leader of the people must he be? or what kind of a christian is he to be a pattern for others to follow?—Will they not both fall into the ditch?

If *Ecclesiasticus* secretly believes that the act of slave holding is justifiable, and that he can support it upon Gospel principles, what need of his dissembling?—If slave holding be according to the truth and design of Gospel religion; if it be honest; if it be just; if it be pure; if it be lovely; if it be of good report as a pious practice; and if it be a virtuous, and a praise worthy thing in the sight of God, Angels, and good men, as the Apostle enjoins on all christians to attend to, as a final injunction,* then why should he, or any other man, emancipate his slaves at his death, or at any other time previous to it, seeing that the more christian virtues he possesses, and the greater number of slaves he has, the more conspicuous will be his works of righteousness in the true, honest, just, pure, lovely, reputable, virtuous, and praise-worthy fruits of slave holding, and the better it will certainly be with him when he comes to render an account of his stewardship—when the plaudit of “well done good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things; I will make thee ruler over many things, enter thou,” &c. shall be pronounced upon him.

But, on the other hand—If slavery and slave holding be contrary to the nature and attributes of the Deity—if it be dishonest, unjust, impure, hateful, dishonorable, vicious, scandalous, and worthy of being despised, as I think the conscience of *Ecclesiasticus* tells him it is; and as nature, grace, religion, morality, humanity, reason, justice, and every

thing else that is valuable, declares it to be, then those who withhold from their fellow men their birthright of freedom, are living in known sin, without, or only with the intention of repenting of it at death, when, in all probability, it will be finally too late; and many, very many bequeath them as a legacy to their heirs, and leave the world without remorse for their last act of violence and injustice! What a disposition have mankind for acquiring the happiness of heaven and earth both! And how many thousands of the same human family are made miserable through life by another part of it, that they may increase their own happiness or pleasures in the wealth and splendors of this world; and then, by patching up, and putting on a linsey-woolsey religion, composed of Christian, Jewish and heathen customs and manners, dream of enjoying also, the happiness of heaven; and so work up their passions by a groundless anticipation of future bliss, that they frequently exult, as if in the possession of it, in the oppressions and other anti-christian acts of their lives!

I have no doubt that many, both of the Clergy and Laity, are standing on the same slippery precipice that *Ecclesiasticus* is, and I think it would be well for them to examine the ground on which they walk, and enter into a full and fair investigation, both of their principles & practices, and see how they do, or do not accord with pure Gospel holiness, as nothing short of that will stand the test in the tremendous hour of trial; and though men may quiet the clamours of conscience for a while, by the palliations of law, custom, and the like, yet it will at length awake with redoubled energy, when the judge of all the earth shall decide on the actions of men, whether good or evil;—not according to the laws of states, the customs of a country, the examples of high professing nominal christians, or the difficulties that may seem to stand in the way of duty, but according to the first principles of unsullied justice and equity, being the immutable laws of his nature, given to mankind as a rule of life and of judgment! Time has been when the sin of slave holding was attended with fewer aggravated circumstances than it is at the present day, in general; but for a clergyman, or any other christian professor to confess now, that it is a crime, & yet live in the voluntary perpetration of it, is a serious consideration!

* *Phillippians*, iv. 8.

Piat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

The subject of slavery is the more awful, as it involves thousands of men and women in a dilemma, as it respects both temporal and eternal things, and from which the difficulty of extrication increases by continuance or repetition:—The sin of oppression, with all its aggravated circumstances of example, and unjust domination, with their concomitants, descends from sire to son, from one generation to another; whilst, on the part of the oppressed, illegal subjugation, privations innumerable, a state of entire vassalage, and ignorance unparalleled, continue from age to age in hopeless succession! But if these things had their final termination in this life, the case, though hard, would not be so painful; but when it is reflected that their consequences extend beyond the grave, what mind can remain unimpressed?—To the sin of injustice in withholding a fellow mortal's right from him, to have added, the sin of impious and despotic usage, personal abuse and insulting language, and other enormities consequent on slave holding; with the influence of these evil examples on the minds of the rising generations who see them; and also on the slaves themselves, may have the pernicious effect of sinking them down into more horrid habits of vice, than the uninfluenced corruptions of nature would attempt, and so both the one and the other come to be ingulphed in confirmed wickedness here, and in perdition hereafter! That there is a possibility of both masters and slaves getting to hell together, I agree; but of the possibility of "both masters and slaves all getting to heaven together, is with me, a doubtful case!!!

That the subject may be duly considered by men, and weighed in the balance of their minds, divested of prejudice and self interest, is the desire of your affectionate brother.

IRENEUS.

SLAVE TRADE.

An Address to the Inhabitants of Europe, on the Iniquity of the Slave Trade; issued by the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, in Great Britain and Ireland.

(Copied from a pamphlet lately published in England.)

Many years have now elapsed since the attention of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, was first turned to the subject of the Slave

Trade. Such was the conviction of its iniquity, that it was felt to be a duty to represent to all in the same religious profession, the sufferings to which the natives of Africa were subjected, by being forcibly torn from their native soil, and condemned to cruel bondage on a foreign shore.

The Society proceeded further: under a sense of the enormity of the crime, a regulation was made upwards of sixty years ago, which has continued in force unto the present time, that those who persisted in "the unrighteous traffic in Negroes;"* after pains had been taken to convince them of their error, should no longer be considered as its member.—And as such as are in religious connexion with us, have been uniformly warned not to partake of the gain of oppression, not to defile themselves with any profits arising from this species of injustice, we trust that we shall obtain full credit when we alledge, that we have no commercial or political end whatever to answer, by thus advocating the cause of the oppressed. We plead on the simple but firm basis of Christian principle.

In common with many virtuous & benevolent characters of our own nation, we felt it to be a Christian duty, to aid in diffusing among our fellow countrymen information on the horrors of the trade; and in soliciting our government to pass a law, for the termination of a commerce, at once barbarous and iniquitous. And we participated in feelings of joy on beholding that, notwithstanding there were great and numerous obstacles in the outset, and in the progress, of the work of humanity, the sense of the great bulk of the inhabitants of these Islands was so clearly seen and yielded to by our Rulers, that this stain on our national character was ultimately effaced, in 1807, by an act of the Irish Legislature;—many of the members of which not only acknowledge the injustice of the trade, but nobly and successfully united their unwearied efforts to hasten its suppression.

We have rejoiced to hear that the respective Governments of those countries whose subjects are still implicated in the traffic, have proceeded so far as they have hitherto done towards its abolition; but we have learned with deep regret and sorrow, that it is still pursued to a

*Yearly Meeting, 1761

great and truly lamentable extent, and that under circumstances of aggravated cruelty, by the subjects of those very powers. We hear that numerous vessels are still hovering along the shores of Africa, to procure cargoes of human beings, and transport them to distant lands, whence they are designed never to return. In fact we hear, and that from undoubted authority, that the trade which the Congress of Vienna in 1814 pronounced to be "the desolation of Africa, the degradation of Europe, and the afflicting scourge of humanity," has been carried on with increased eagerness in the course of last year.

It is under the influence of Christian love and good will, that we are now engaged to express our interest on behalf of this injured people. In thus introducing ourselves to the notice of our Continental neighbors, we feel that we need not offer any apology, considering them as our brethren, as the children of one universal Parent, as fellow professors, of a belief in one and the same merciful Saviour. The same feelings which lead us to consider the natives of France, of Spain, of Holland, of Portugal, and of the other nations of Europe, as our brethren, induce us to extend this endearing appellation to the inhabitants of Africa. Our heavenly Father has made of one blood all nations of men that dwell upon the face of the earth; and we are all the objects of that great redemption, which comes by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And although the kindreds of the earth are divided into distinct communities and nations, we are all bound one unto another by the ties of love, of brotherly kindness and compassion. But the nations of Europe are united by an additional bond. To them has been granted a blessing, which has not hitherto been enjoyed by the greater part of the natives of Africa: this blessing, this invaluable treasure is the Bible, in which is contained the record of the Gospel of Christ.

Permit us then, as fellow professors of the Cristian name, to remind you of the complicated iniquity of the Slave Trade. Possessed of a superior force, which he has acquired by a greater knowledge of the dreadful arts of naval and military warfare, the Slave trader visits the coasts of unoffending Africa. He employs his agents to tear her inhabitants from their country, their families, and their friends;

to burn their villages, and ravage their fields; to spread terror and desolation through their peaceful dwellings. He fomented wars between neighbouring chieftains in order to supply himself with their subjects, the victims of his avarice. Having thus either stolen or bought his fellow men, who are equally with himself entitled to their liberty, and of which he possesses no right whatever to deprive them, he hurries them to the vessel that may be waiting in some adjoining creek, to receive the objects of his cruelty; or he chains them with iron fetters or loads them with heavy yokes, & drives them like the beasts of the field to the shores. There new distresses await them; they are violently conveyed on board the ships stationed to receive them, stowed beside each other like bales of goods, and conveyed across the Atlantic to the place of their destination. The horrors of this passage cannot be adequately described even by those who have been witnesses of them. Faint, then, must be the idea we can form of the situation of upwards of three hundred beings, in a comparatively small vessel, each limited to so narrow a space, that it often happens they cannot lie on their backs.—Here they are subjected to miserable reflections—for the power of reflection in common with us they undoubtedly possess—on the past, the present, and the future. Their shrieks, and cries, and groans, ought to be sufficient to excite pity in the hardest heart. Arbitrary, cruel power is often exercised to prevent those attempts at insurrection, to which their situation prompts them. And such is their state of desperation, that they are often ready to have recourse to suicide. The noxious and pestilential effluvia, that arise from their close confinement between decks, (which are often not more than three feet apart,) or from the illness of their companions, produce loss of appetite, disease, and in many instances suffocation, and other distressing forms of death. And here let us bear in mind, that these cruelties are practised in violation of the laws of many of the nations of Europe, and that the Slave dealers in their attempts to elude the operations of the law, have recourse to fresh acts of oppression to accomplish their wicked designs.

When released from their horrible prison, the surviving slaves are exposed to sale like cattle, and consigned to pass

their days in the loss of liberty, far separated from their nearest earthly ties, and exposed to such acts of domineering violence, as a capricious master or his dependents may be disposed to exercise.—Such is the cruelty practised upon thousands and tens of thousands of innocent sufferers, not by men who might attempt to palliate their conduct on the plea of retaliating injuries; but by those who, when they themselves are enjoying the blessing of liberty, when the comforts of social life are within their reach, leave their native land for the sake of sordid gain, and spread desolation, distress, & misery, amongst a people who have never injured them. May the nations of Europe consider in time the awful consequences that await such accumulated guilt!

The arguments of the Christian, like the religion from which they are derived, are plain and simple, but they are in themselves invincible. The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is a system of peace, of love, of mercy, and of good will. The Slave Trade is a system of fraud & rapine, of violence and cruelty. The Author of our Salvation, when he took upon him our nature, set us a perfect example of piety and virtue. He went about doing good to the bodies and souls of men. He taught his disciples that the evil dispositions and passions of men are not to be indulged, but that they are to be restrained by the power of his Spirit acting upon his soul. His parables teach us the happy effects of a religious life.—His miraculous cures bespeak a tender compassion for the sufferings and afflictions of man. His discourses inculcate disinterested, genuine humanity. The man who traffics in the lives and liberties of his fellow-beings, goes forth to gratify the malevolent passions of selfishness & avarice; he does violence to all the tender feelings of humanity, and spreads around him distress and terror.—Our blessed Redeemer has taught us pure, impartial justice, in this plain, but most important language, “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.”* The Slave Trader, in open violation of this injunction, acts towards others in a way which he would use every means in his power to resist, if it were practised upon him. He is indeed guilty of the greatest injustice; he deprives

his fellow men of their liberty, that gift of heaven which is estimated as the greatest of civil blessings; and which is the natural, and, (whilst we are not disturbing the peace and tranquility of our neighbours,) the unalienable right of the whole human race. And here we would observe that as the practice itself is clearly unjust, it cannot be warranted by any commercial considerations. That which is morally wrong cannot be politically right. And our beneficent Creator has wisely ordered that our duty and our interest should be intimately combined;—and it is contrary to his gracious purpose that gain and advantage should be sought by one part of his rational creation, from the distress and suffering of another.

It has been alleged by some, that the natives of Africa are a race of beings inferior to ourselves. If the intellectual powers of the present inhabitants of Europe are more vigorous than theirs, they should ever consider with thankfulness the means by which they have risen to their state of mental energy. If, in the inscrutable orderings of his Divine Providence, that Being who is all powerful, and all-wise, has accelerated the diffusion of moral and religious knowledge through this quarter of the globe, are we not showing our ingratitude for the blessing bestowed upon us, by acts of cruelty and oppression to them? But is not their conduct under the sufferings to which they are subjected, a proof that they possess the common feelings of humanity? Our intercourse with them, and the authentic reports of travellers, clearly show that they are capable of kindness, sensibility and gratitude; that they can make improvements in the arts of agriculture and mechanics, and that they can adopt wise and just regulations for the good order of society.

It has also been maintained by some, that we are justified in forcing the inhabitants of Africa from their native soil, to make them acquainted with the blessings of *Christianity*. To those we would reply—The Divine Founder of our religion used no endeavours to compel his hearers to accept his doctrine, or to obey his precepts.—Even the Jews, who had been the peculiar objects of Almighty protection, who had, through many successive generations, partaken of the special care of God, were not to be forced to accept the blessings of the gospel. To them its promises were offered, & when

* Matthew, vii. 12.

by that nation they were rejected, the Saviour of the world, even when enumerating their sins and transgressions, so far from employing any compulsory power, pronounced this pathetic lamentation: "Oh Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not."† He is our Lord and Master: He is the great Head of the Christian Church: His precepts and his examples are equally obligatory upon all his true disciples, in all ages & all countries. If we follow them, in the meekness and lowliness which he taught, under the influence of his Spirit, we shall be happy here, and happy hereafter: but if, bearing his name, & calling ourselves his disciples, even though we profess to be teaching his doctrine—if we reject his example, and violate his precepts, in the presence of those who have not, like ourselves, been partakers of the outward knowledge of the gospel, awful and fearful will be our future condition.

The nations of Europe owe indeed a heavy debt to Africa. Instead of improving the opportunity of their commercial intercourse with that unoffending people to exemplify the excellence of the Christian religion by the kindness of their conduct, and the purity of their morals;—instead of endeavoring to convey to them a knowledge of those exalted views, of that increase of temporal happiness, which the spirit of Christianity produces, many of them have gone forth to plunder and to ravage, to spread desolation and terror, to practice injustice and cruelty in their most odious forms; and thus have caused the name of Christ to be blasphemed among the Gentiles through them.

We appeal to all who have felt that love of their country which is inherent in our nature; who can appreciate the blessings and enjoyments of social life; who can form an estimate of the endearing relation of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, of husband and wife. We entreat all to reflect on the violation of those feelings which is now practised on the Continent of Africa; to cultivate in their minds from day to day, and from year to year, sentiments of pity for those unhappy sufferers;—to embrace every opportunity of advocating their cause among their neighbours, with Christian

firmness and love; and to obtain and diffuse correct information on the nature and extent of the traffic, by every means in their power, and in such a way as becomes the subjects of a Christian government. The performance of acts of kindness and love to others is permitted by our great Creator, in his unmerited mercy, to bring an immediate reward;—a reward of such intrinsic value, that it becomes a strong incentive to further deeds of beneficence & humanity.—Surely then an attempt to rescue our fellow-men from the most cruel and distressing sufferings, is a pursuit worthy of our unwearied exertions, not only as our duty, but from the satisfaction which it may itself afford.

We hope that none will be disheartened from doing their utmost in this good cause, from the thought that their efforts will be of little avail. No one knows, let his station be ever so obscure, let his sphere of action be ever so limited, what may be the result of his persevering attempts in the cause of justice and mercy. Great events have often followed what appeared to be but small and unimportant beginnings. And we earnestly entreat those, whose influence may be more extensive, to lose no time, to neglect no opportunity of pleading a cause, in which the happiness and comfort of an incalculable number of our fellow-men, are most deeply involved.

If the foregoing should be read by any who are employed in this cruel traffic, we would suggest to these a few reflections. We feel, whilst thus attempting to describe the miseries which you are inflicting, that you also are our brethren—that although we view your actions with indignation & abhorrence, you are the objects of our tender pity. As we are believers in a future state of rewards and punishments, we would warn you in Christian love of the awful termination of that course of wickedness which you are pursuing. Our Lord, our righteous Judge declared, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy;"—what then will become of the unmerciful and cruel? In the same most excellent discourse, he uttered this solemn sentence: "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." What then will be the portion of those who have meted out cruelty, distress, and sorrow, to the innocent and unprotected?

The voice of reason and justice, the voice of humanity and religion, proclaims

†Matthew, xxiii. 37.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

that the Slave Trade is an iniquity of the deepest die. May the friends of the abolition of this abominable traffic, wherever, they are scattered, combine their efforts in this righteous cause—may their energy and alacrity be in proportion to the enormity of the evil—may their patience and perseverance be in proportion to the difficulties which they have to encounter; and may the laborers increase until the trade be eradicated from the face of the earth!

May it please the Almighty Parent of the universe to hasten the period of its extirpation, & by this & other means to prepare for the coming of that day, when after the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same, his name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto his name, and a pure offering."

Signed in, by order, and on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of the said Society, held in London, the 25th of the fifth month, 1822, by

JOSIAH FORSTER.

Clerk to the Meeting this year.

FROM THE WESTERN CITIZEN.

Mr. Lyle.—It is the boast of Kentucky that her sons are growing opulent by commercial traffic; that they are fast surmounting the obstacles of a miserable circulating medium, by turning it into stock, or other produce of this fertile country, sending them to distant markets, and by this means converting their almost worthless trash into money. Where nature in her whims has not thought it necessary to place navigable streams, they with the spirit of enterprise, incident to Columbia's free born sons, have found land-roads by which they convey their live stock to market. They have, heedless of difficulties, with their horses, their cattle, and their hogs, surveyed the mountains' heights, encountered the rushing torrent, endured the merciless pelting of the snow, hail and rain. And yet all this is laudable, because commercial traffic is necessary to the very existence of civil government.

We will now turn our attention to the river Ohio, on whose bosom the barks of Kentucky float, laden with the produce of her soil. This for a time was the only source of trade we had—we now carry it on in a very considerable degree. Steam Boats have been erected, in order for the furtherance of trade,

to render the voyage to the lower country more commodious and expeditious. This I commend, I admire, but whilst every honorable species of traffic is laudable, there is yet one which every free-man of nice feelings, or even the common feelings, of humanity, must look upon with disgust, with abhorrence, as disgraceful to a land of liberty, or of tyranny—I mean the diabolical, damning, practice of *SOUL-PEDDLING*, or the purchasing of negroes, and driving them like brutes to market. This is a kind of business commenced at first on a moderate scale, in Kentucky, but now grown so enormously as to become truly alarming; Oh conscience! has remorse totally lost its sting? Has heaven no lightning eternally to blast the abominable wretches who first introduced this nefarious trade?

Having business in Paris, on Tuesday 17th inst. I there witnessed a scene more shocking to humanity than any that has ever come within my notice.—Never shall I forget the painful sensations with which the horrid spectacle filled me, until the last round of time is run, and the universe sinks again into the chaos from whence it arose. Oh! that the obliterating hand of time could efface the scene from my memory, for it was acted in the country that gave me birth, the land of liberty and independence, the boasted asylum of the miserable and oppressed! I there beheld between seventy-five and one hundred miserable wretches galling under the yoke of despots, (which by the way is too mild a name for their iron hearted oppressors,) doomed to leave their home, their country, and their friends, rendered ever dear to them by the strongest ties of nature, from the earliest dawn of life. Chained and guarded, they were driven like other stock, from their native land. They were paraded on the public square, in front of the court house, the seat of justice. Over their unhappy heads, *that benner waved* under which our fore-fathers fought and bled for the liberty and independence which they attained in the glorious issue of the contest. This was the most "unkind cut of all," to hoist the "Star Spangled Banner" the flag of freedom, the Eagle of proud America, over a set of poor unhappy slaves, fettered to misery, to despair, who never knew Liberty, save in dreams of the night, or the airy vis-

ions of the day. Shameful prostitution! The arm of retributive justice must one day fall upon the heads of these aliens from refined society, for the heaven-daring hell deserving traffic they are engaged in.

One word more, and I have done—I hope a thinking world will not deem me too severe with gentlemen traders. If it does, I have this comfort left me still; there is an inward something which whispers me I have done right.—This, by the moralist, is called *conscience*—I believe a something with which the honorable *soul-peddler* have had a desperate combat. They have gained the glorious victory—*Conscience* is vanquished and doomed to a perpetual, dishonorable exile, from their bosoms, on account of its casual, impertinent intrusions.

PHILANTHROPIST.

From the Abolition Intelligencer.

SURPRISING INFLUENCE OF PREJUDICE.

"Ye know not what spirit ye are of," said the Saviour of sinners, on a certain occasion, to his over-zealous disciples.—The history of the world proves, that this remark contains an universal proposition; applicable to every individual of our race.

Shocked at the cruelties which the Prophet foretold he would commit, when invested with regal power, "Am I a dog," said Hazaël, "that I should do such things," "and yet," as a certain one expresses it, "the Dog did it." Even conscientious persons not unfrequently shudder at the very thoughts of those things, in which, after a change of circumstances, and a gradual progress in a course of approximation, they can indulge themselves without remorse.

It will perhaps scarcely be believed, by the pious and benevolent in those regions where slavery is unknown, that the professed disciples of the meek and lowly Redeemer, who enjoined it on all his followers to "do unto others as they would that they should do unto them," are, not unfrequently, found to be the most strenuous advocates for the system of African Slavery, and the most intolerant persecutors of those, who have the hardihood to call into question its morality. Such however is the fact; and reason and scripture are both perverted to bear them out.

At one time we hear them justify the

system and the principle by the colour of the slave—At another by the *assumed* fact of the inferiority of the Africans in point of intellectual powers—At another, by the *curse* of Noah dooming his son Ham and his posterity to perpetual slavery—Again by the *example* of Abraham—Abraham had servants, both born in his house and bought with his money. And finally by the *law* of Moses, which permitted the Israelites to enslave their neighbors, and leave them an inheritance unto their children forever.

And such is the confidence inspired by such authorities, that, not satisfied with merely standing on the defensive, they boldly attack their adversaries whenever they come into contact with them, denouncing them as disturbers of the peace of society, and violaters of the established order of Heaven.

We would not be understood to say that all who hold slaves take this course, or manifest such a spirit. On the contrary, we verily believe there are numbers who most ardently wish to see some plan put into operation, by which the benevolence of their hearts may be indulged, in letting the oppressed go free, under circumstances which would promise to better their situation. Nor would we be understood to insinuate that all who thus strenuously advocate slavery are hypocritical in their professions. They may be very sincere in their belief of the correctness of the arguments by which they endeavor to support a favorite system. But their sincerity by no means proves that they are correct.

Accustomed, from their infancy, to see black people drudges for the whites—treated with severity—denied the privilege of complaining and having never heard the propriety of such treatment called in question, they see no more harm in making the negro work than in making the ox work.—They are both equally the property of the master, and may with the same propriety be used for his benefit.

When to the strength of this prejudice of education we add self interest, which has the majestic power of vitiating the organ of moral vision so as to give an entirely different colouring and aspect to all objects, and at the same time of so far biasing the judgment that "the wrong will appear the better side," need we be surprised that there are so many advocates of African slavery in slave states.

The only way, we apprehend, of enlisting the sympathies of such characters in favor of suffering humanity is to change the scene. Let it be removed across the Atlantic. Instead of contemplating the subjugation of Africa's sable sons on the shores of America; behold the free-born sons of America in servile bondage on the coasts of Africa. See those noble and generous spirits, once the pride and bulwark of their country, now groaning under the yoke of slavery and smarting under the lash of the Algerine.—

Where is the callous wretch that can contemplate this scene without emotion?—Where is the obdurate heart that does not burn with indignation against those infidel tyrants who can thus deliberately trample on the laws of nations and on the rights of humanity.

Nor is this picture the production of fancy. Most of us recollect the burst of indignation that was manifested a few years since throughout the United States, from Maine to Georgia against the Barbary powers by whom our unfortunate tars were kept in bondage. And we say that that indignation was laudable. It was the language of nature, unawed by power—It was the language of free men.

Now we ask where is the mighty difference between the slavery of Americans on the coast of Africa and the slavery of Africans on the coast of America. You tell me that there is a very wide difference. That the characters of the masters are different and their manner of treating their slaves still more so. Granted, the master on one side is professedly christian, on the other Mahomedan—The slaves on one hand are treated with the most refined cruelty, and on the other with humanity. But what has this to do with the abstract question? "Still slavery thou art a bitter draught." And where is the American that would have been willing to abandon his country to perpetual slavery, them and their offspring upon condition that they should be humanely treated by their masters?

But multitudes are ready to rise up and indignantly tell us that there is a much greater cause of difference—"That the Africans are black—a demonstration that they were intended to be slaves for the whites." Here again we see the prejudice of education, for there is surely no ground in the nature of the case to justify such a conclusion.

But are we to anathematize all who

thus argue as despots and hypocrites and thieves and robbers? Such a course might manifest much zeal but evidently would not display that charity which hopeth all things. We ourselves, are perhaps indebted more to peculiarities of circumstances than to our superior wisdom or superior correctness of moral principle that we are not among the number of tyrants who are daily lording it over the unfortunate sons of Africa.

Let us then learn to pity rather than dispise our infatuated fellow mortals, who seem to think themselves justifiable in saying all manner of evil of us falsely for the sake of the Africans. Let us learn to restrain our feelings and to reason rather than revile, and who knows but that some argument clothed with the resistless energy of truth may reach their understandings and strike conviction to their hearts.

We shall hereafter attend to their arguments.

FROM THE SAME.

The following circular was sent do. ex. by the Abolition Society of Kentucky at their late convention, to the several branches.

CIRCULAR.

TO THE AUXILIARY BRANCHES COMPOSING THE KENTUCKY ABOLITION SOCIETY, AND TO OUR FELLOW CITIZENS IN GENERAL.

We, the delegates, composing the annual convention for the year 1822, holding as our motto, that "no post is more honorable than his who supports and defends the rights of man," beg leave, affectionately to address you.

Friends and Fellow Citizens—We did not associate together for profit or self aggrandizement, but for the relief of suffering humanity; as our constitution clearly sets forth. We do solemnly appeal to the Supreme Judge of the Universe, that our intention is to do justly to all men, and as we may have opportunity, to lend our aid to distressed humanity, in every condition. Were we disposed to rest the justness of our cause on human authority, we could boast of having on our side, the greatest, and wisest and best of men, living in our own country, and elsewhere, both civil and ecclesiastical.

Individually and collectively, we can claim as our object, that which is the common object of all benevolent institutions,

viz. extending assistance to the distressed. As republicans, and taking for our direction the 'invaluable "Declaration of Rights," together with the holy scriptures, we feel constrained to say, that the involuntary and perpetual slavery of *white, red, or black men*, is *unjust*, and consequently *impolitic*—dangerous to the government, and injurious to the rising generation.

To the Auxiliary Branches we would say—"Be not weary in well doing, for in due time you shall reap if you faint not." For your encouragement look back 20 years. See the great progress of light and civilization and benevolence during that period! With what resplendence may we not anticipate they will shine, in our own beloved country, and throughout the world, in the course of twenty years to come. And with these prospects in view, may we not fondly hope, that ere long the foul and degrading blot of slavery shall be purged from our national escutcheon; when the united voice of wise and good men shall no more be heard upbraiding us as unjust and inconsistent.

We exhort you all to continue with unwearied diligence, in seeking for justice in behalf of those persons, who are illegally held in bondage, or are sold to the inhuman slave trader, who without any motive but that of sordid avarice, carries them beyond the reach of help or hope. As you have opportunity, inculcate on the minds of all free people of colour the necessity of honesty, industry and frugality; together with the great utility of education, that they may be fitted for the great duties of life. And finally, we exhort all the members of our connection, that they endeavor, by proper means, to soften the prejudices of men who hastily judge and condemn us; and by their upright conduct toward all men, they may put to shame the forked tongue of slander.

For particulars we refer you to your delegates and to our minutes. May the blessing of Almighty God, and of those who are ready to perish be yours, now and for ever more, is the prayer of yours in the bonds of philanthropy.

Attest,

HUGH WILEY,

President.

E. DUNCAN, Jr. *Secretary.*

Maysville, Sept. 12, 1822.

HEROIC NEGRO.

Greater cruelty was perhaps never exercised than by the Europeans to the negroes of Surinam. Stedman relates, that nothing was more common than for old negroes to be broken on the wheel; and young ones burnt alive; and the fortitude with which they suffered, was equal to that of the most ardent patriot, or enthusiastic martyr. One of the fugitives, or revolted slaves, being brought before his judges, who had condemned him, to hear what he had to say in his defence, he requested to be heard a few minutes before he was sent to execution, when leave being granted, he thus addressed them:

"I was born in Africa; while defending my prince in battle, I was taken prisoner, and sold as a slave on the coast of Guinea. One of our countrymen, who sits amongst my judges, purchased me. Having been cruelly treated by his overseer, I deserted and went to join the rebels in the woods. There also I was condemned to be the slave of their chief, Bonas, who treated me with still more cruelty than the whites, which obliged me to desert a second time, determined to fly from the human species forever, and to pass the rest of my life innocently, and alone in the woods. I had lived two years in this manner, a prey to the greatest hardships and the most dreadful anxiety, merely attached to life, by the hope of once more seeing my beloved family, who are perhaps starving, owing to my absence. Two years of misery had thus passed, when I was discovered by the rangers, and brought before this tribunal, which now knows the wretched history of my life."

This speech was pronounced with the greatest moderation, and by one of the finest negroes in the colony. His master, who, as he had remarked, was one of his judges, unmoved by the pathetic and eloquent appeal, made him this atrocious laconic reply, 'Rascal, it is of little consequence to us to know what you have been saying; but the torture shall make you confess crimes as black as yourself, as well as those of your detestable accomplices.' At these words, the negro, whose veins seemed to swell with indignation and contempt, retorted: "These hands," stretching them forth, "have made tigers tremble, yet you dare to threaten me with that despicable instrument! No; I despise all the tor-

ments which you can now invent, as well as the wretch who is about to inflict them. On saying these words, he threw himself on the instrument, where he suffered the most excruciating torture without uttering a syllable.

MUSES' BOWER,

And Miscellaneous Department.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind.
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

REFLECTIONS ON SLAVERY.

Must Afric's sons be forc'd to toil,
Beneath the burning zone;
And abject slaves in freedom's plain
Be heard to sigh and groan.
See, man from wife, parent from child,
Brother from sister torn!
In servitude to tyrant men,
With sighs and grief to mourn.
Observe, how brutal demons drive
Their hand-cuff'd slaves along!
Can you behold this dreadful scene,
And not pronounce it wrong?
Forbid it freemen, you have power,
'This shameful curse to stay:
Wrest from his hands the despot's lash,
And stop the tyrant's sway.
Kind nature shudders at such guilt,
In this bless'd land so free,
And sighing says, "Americans
Can this be liberty?"
To heaven's boundless concave will
Their sighs and groans ascend:
And injured justice soon or late
Their sacred rights defend.

LYSANDER.

*The following beautiful lines were
addressed to the Agent of the Coloniza-
tion Society, by a Lady in Connecticut.*

AFRICA.

Land of the wise! where science broke
Like morning from chaotic deeps,
Where Moses, holy prophet, woke,
Where Parsons, youthful martyr,
sleeps.
Land of the brave! where Carthage rear-
ed
'Gainst haughty Rome, a warrior's
crest;
Where Cato, like a god revered,
Indignant pierced his patriot breast.
Land of the scorned, the exil'd race!

Who fainting 'neath oppressive toil,
With never ceasing tears retrace,
Their palm-tree shade, their father's
soil.

Shall blest Benevolence extend
Her angel reign from sea to sea,
Nor yet one glance of pity bend,
Deserted Africa! on thee?
Shall Mercy's ardent heralds haste
O'er all the earth with zeal benign,
Dare baleful clime, and burning waste,
Yet coldly turn their course from
thine?

Did nature bid the torrid skies
Glare fiercely o'er thy desert glade,
In heathen gloom benight thine eyes
And cloud thy brow with ebony shade?
And must thy brother's hatred find
A doom that nature never gave?
A curse that nature ne'er design'd?
The fetter and the name of Slave!
Haste lift from Afric's wrongs the veil,
Ere the Eternal Judge arise,
Who lists the helpless prisoner's wail,
And counts the tears from misery's
eyes.

Oh! ere the flaming skies reveal
That frown which none can meet and
live,
Teach her before his throne to kneel
And like her saviour pray—"Forgive."

The following should have been inser-
ted sooner, but for the press of origin-
al matter, which seemed to demand a
precedence.

*To the editor of the Genius of Universal
Emancipation.*

If you will please to publish the enco-
losed, you will gratify a number of your
readers, and oblige

Your Friend, A.

Maysville, (Ky.) 1822.

EPILOGUE

To a Theatrical piece called "The Pad-
lock."

WRITTEN BY AN ENGLISH CLERGYMAN.

*Mungo, who in the above piece acted
the part of a servant, enters and address-
es the audience as follows:*

"Thank you, my massas! have you laugh
your fill?

Then let me speak, nor take that free-
dom ill.

E'en from my tongue some artless truths
may fall;

And outraged Nature claims the care of
all.

Pia! Justitia Ruit Caelum.

My tale in any place would force a tear,
 But calls for stronger, deeper feelings
 here;
 For whilst I tread the free born British
 land,
 Whilst now before me crowded Britons
 stand,—
 Vain, vain that glorious privilege to me,
 I am a slave, when all things else are free.
 Yet was I born, as you are, no man's
 slave,
 An heir to all that liberal Nature gave;
 My mind can reason and my limbs can
 move
 The same as yours; like yours my heart
 can love,
 Alike my body food and sleep sustain,
 And e'en like yours, feel pleasure, want,
 and pain.
 One sun rolls o'er us, common skies sur-
 round,
 One globe supports us, and one grave
 must bound.
 Why then am I derv'd of all to live,
 That manly comforts to a man can give?
 To live—untaught Religion's soothing
 balm,
 Or life's choice arts; to live—unknown
 the calm
 Of soft domestic ease; the sweets of life,
 The duteous offspring, and th' endearing
 wife?
 To live—to property and rights un-
 known,
 Not e'en the common benefits my own!
 No arm to guard me from Oppression's
 rod,
 My will subservient to a tyrant's nod!
 No gentle hands, when life is in decay,
 To soothe my pains, and charm my cares
 away;
 But helpless left to quit the horrid stage,
 Harassed in youth, and desolate in age.
 But I was born on Afric's tawny strand,
 And you in fair Britannia's fairer land.
 Comes freedom, then, from colour? Blush
 with shame,
 And let strong Nature's crimson mark
 your blame.
 I speak to Britons.—Britons, then, be-
 hold,
 A man by Britons snared, and seized and
 sold!
 And yet no British statute damns the
 deed,
 Nor do the worse than murderous vil-
 lains bleed.
 Oh sons of freedom! equalize your laws,
 Be all consistent, plead the negroes'
 cause;

That every nation in your code may see
 The British Negro, like the Briton, free;
 But, should he supplicate your laws in
 vain.

To break, forever, this disgraceful chain,
 At least let gentle usage so abate
 The galling terrors of its passing state,
 That he may share kind heaven's all so-
 cial plan;

For, tho' no Briton, Mungo is—a Man.

It is stated that in the year 1741, *thir-
 teen negroes were burnt alive*, in the ci-
 ty of New York, for insurrectionary ef-
 forts. Yet this did not prevent the work
 of emancipation from going on; but it is
 very probable that it had a tendency to
 accelerate it. The most sure way to
 prevent a revolt among an oppressed
 people, is to do them justice. The con-
 sequence of drawing a cord too tight, will
 be, that it must inevitably break.

G. U. Eman.

ERRATA.

In page 18, first column, seventeenth
 line from the bottom, for *avaricious cov-
 etousness*, read *avarice or covetousness*.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

My valued friend and correspondent
 "Humanitas," has again made his ap-
 pearance. Since the removal of the es-
 tablishment something of a difficulty has
 been experienced in receiving his com-
 munications, and this has occasioned a
 considerable of a delay in the publica-
 tion of the article which appears in this
 number.

A letter from an highly esteemed
 friend in this country, to a noted person-
 age in England, on the subject of slave-
 ry, the slave trade, &c. will appear in
 next number.

An excellent communication from a
 female friend near Baltimore is received,
 and may also be expected next month.

The *Genius of Universal Emancipa-
 tion* is published monthly, in Greeneville,
 Greene County, Tennessee, at *one dollar*
 per annum, payable in advance. The
 difficulty in collecting small sums at a
 distance, renders a strict adherence to
 this rule indispensably necessary.

The currency, or such Bank bills
 as may be in general circulation in the
 different States or Territories in which
 subscribers reside, will be received in
 payment.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 2 VOL. II.

ELEVENTH MONTH, 1822.

WHOLE No. 17.

The reprinting of No. 1 of the first volume of this work has been delayed a long time, on account of the unsettled situation of the editor. It is now completed; and will, with the Title page, Index, and Addenda, be forwarded to subscribers in a few days.—Several other numbers of vol. 1 will also be reprinted shortly, and furnished to such as have not received them.

The letter of E. H. to his friend in England, commenced in page 72, will be found to be exceedingly interesting. It is to be hoped that its great length will not deter any from a careful perusal of it. The author is one of those who prefer strict justice to self-aggrandizement, & future safety to present ease; he holds it as a maxim founded on the immutable principles of truth, that a man should always pursue the line of Christian duty, regardless of probable consequences. There are perhaps at present, very few persons living who have taken a more decided or a more active part against the system of African Slavery than him.

The attention of the reader is also invited to a communication in this number, (see page 69) over the signature of H. C. The writer is an amiable and intelligent young Lady residing near Baltimore.—The article from the *Morning Chronicle*, page 76, is also supposed to be from the same pen.

It may with propriety be said, that few even of the other sex, can substantiate a better claim to the title of patriot than this virtuous female; and seldom do we meet with an author whose language is more lively and energetic. The influence which Females have upon the manners and customs of a people, is much greater than many are aware of, or than some are willing to admit. The finer feelings of the human heart are theirs; the fascinating charm, the mild attractive force of persuasion, is possessed by them in an eminent degree; and when to these are added the gracefulness of rhetoric, and the flowers of eloquence, emanating from a mind versed in the philosophy of

nature and the science of government, how important is the station which they occupy, and how eminently are they qualified to assist in guarding against the introduction of evils in a community, and in expelling the corruptions and disorders arising from the imperfections of its members. Let the Ladies of America, and especially of the Slaveholding States consider these things. there are many whose names have been handed down to posterity as distinguished benefactors of the human race. Among others the mother of the celebrated Gracii will never be forgotten.

I hope the writer here alluded to, will frequently find leisure to favour me with the productions of her pen. I need not say any thing more to assure her that she will always be welcome to the pages of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

In the last number of this work I mentioned that a writer in the "*Correspondent*" a paper published at St. Genevieve, in the State of Missouri, had paid me a compliment; and feeling somewhat indebted to him for his courtesy, I consider it my duty to take some further notice of him. In order to shew the reader what kind of language he uses, I shall copy his article entire. It is as follows:—

From the Correspondent.

For sometime we have beheld with pain, the establishment of a new publication in Tennessee, entitled "*The Genius of Universal Emancipation*," It is entirely devoted to the subject of Negro slavery; and from the inflammatory nature of the articles which appear in it, must, ere long, prompt the slaves of that country to acts of fire and blood, in a fruitless struggle for liberty. We look for this as the natural consequence of such a publication in such a place. Although Mr. Lundy, the proprietor, (a peaceful quaker,) may not think that he hastens these calamities on his country, every rational being, who reads his paper, must be convinced that he does. He may say, that he "does not write for or to Negroes, but to virtuous and intelligent men, in

behalf of suffering humanity." But, is it possible to keep his publication from the Negroes? No. It is read for and to them by numbers; and enflames them to madness, by tales and high drawn pictures of cruelties, which never had an existence but in the visionary brains of the writers. We are not the enemies of a free press, neither are we advocates for slavery. We deplore the misfortune, as we always regarded it as a curse to our country. But how shall we rid ourselves of this nuisance? We cannot free them without increasing the evil; as we turn loose upon society a depraved, idle and worthless population. We can only effect it slowly and gradually; which will be done as men get enlightened and learn to dispense with their services—and not by Mr. Landy's firebrand sweeping system. Can a citizen who possesses, perhaps no other property than a few acres of land and some negroes, free them—let his family starve, his plantation go to waste, and his creditors suffer?—But Mr. Landy will have it so: or prompt the slaves to regain their freedom by all the crimes and cruelties attendant on a negro rebellion. He sees his fellow citizen murdered, his wife and daughters violated and butchered, his house and property a prey to pillage and the flames, and in the back ground of the picture, his victim of seduction extended on a gibbet, while, like Nero viewing the burning ruins of Rome, he sits and sings; and tells the world, in the language of Macbeth,

"Thou canst not say, I did it: never shake Thy gory locks at me."

This paper was first published in Ohio, but there were no slaves, no fit combustible materials of destruction, consequently it was removed to Greenville, Tennessee.

Let our brethren of that state be on their guard; let them have the fear of St. Domingo and the recent circumstances at Charleston before their eyes, and remove the fuse before the shell explodes among them.

We very much suspect that friend Landy is only the puppet of the show, and that the ulcer is cancerous."

The foregoing appeared in the *Correspondent* as editorial; but having some little acquaintance with the editor, I am inclined to believe that it is the production of some other person, and that he has suffered himself in this instance to be

made a cat's paw for one who is either ashamed or afraid to come out from behind the curtain.

The author sets out with a charge against me similar to those always preferred by tyrants, in case any are so happy as to advocate the immutable principles of justice, liberty and law. He accuses me with admitting articles of an "inflammatory nature" in my paper, and hints in the most doleful accents, that the consequences will be dreadful in the extreme. He speaks of "fire," and "blood," and no doubt while the horror-inspiring ideas were rushing athwart his mind, his eyes were ready to start from their sockets, and like Shakespeare's lean ghosts, his very hair stood on end! It would seem that the man is marvelously wise in his own conceit, and predicates his arguments on the broad ground of what *he thinks* might happen, without any other kind of evidence; and although he gives me the credit of acting from pure motives (for which I am vastly obliged to him) he not only "*thinks*" that my conduct is calculated to "hasten" the worst of "calamities" on my country, but asserts that "every rational being who reads" this work, "must be convinced" of it. Now, to satisfy the gentleman that it may be possible he has fallen into an error, I can inform him, that there are hundreds of persons possessed, as I should suppose, of nearly as much rationality as himself, among whom are some of the first statesmen in America, who read my numbers regularly, and have assured me that in their opinion the work has *not* a tendency to produce such direful results as he predicts it will. Therefore setting my own aside, the opinions of these my native countrymen must of necessity have as much weight, with me, as that of Thomas Foley, alias the casual editor of the "*Correspondent and St. Genevieve Record*."

But to be serious, the oft repeated assertion of the advocates of slavery, viz: that the labours of the friends of Emancipation are calculated to encourage a revolt among the slaves, is as false as their cause is odious. We have never heard of their attempting to raise insurrections in this country, except in those districts where the utmost stretch of human ingenuity has been put in requisition, to grind down the faces of the wretched victims of cruelty. Of course, the arguments thus advanced by our opponents

are bottomed on nothing better than false deductions from the vain theorems of sophists and petty tyrants. They cannot produce facts to bear them out, and they know it to be extremely unsafe to venture in the field of scripture, or of reason. But it is astonishing to observe the shameless effrontery manifested by them upon every occasion when they discover that the irradiating beams of truth are likely to expose the corruptions engendered in their avaricious bosoms. Notwithstanding they boast of having braved the difficulties and the dangers of two wars for the sole purpose of establishing in this land the temple of liberty, whose lofty spire shall reach the heavens, and under the shade of which the sons and daughters of men, without distinction, may find repose; notwithstanding they account the people of other nations fools for submitting to the yoke of political bondage, and call upon them to *expatriate* themselves, and cross the wide ocean to taste the nectarious sweets, and regale themselves with the balmy odours of *freedom*; although they feign themselves the enemies of kings, are loud in their denunciations of tyrants, make a merit of inculcating in the minds of their children a *holy hatred* of every species of oppression, and profess to teach them the principles of justice and equity, as well as the precepts and maxims of the Christian religion; still, the moment that any thing is said in favor of the adoption of measures to remove the crying evil and destroy the accursed system of African slavery, their high professions are immediately forgotten!—They put on the whole armour of tyrants, use the same language, pursue the same course, and their conduct in most cases assimilates to that of the veriest despots in existence! O shame, where is thy blush?—*“Nam ego illum perire duco cui quidem perit pudor.”*

This writer, asserts that the work is read to slaves, and “enflames them to madness,” &c.—But to use his own phraseology, I believe that little if any thing of this kind ever “had an existence, but in the visionary brains of the” gentleman himself. Even if the paper were read to them, it would be impossible that it should make them more fully sensible of what they suffer, than they now are. But it is in the very nature of things for mankind to be discontented when under the

galling yoke of oppression. All history furnishes us with conclusive evidence of the fact; and the only way to prevent its breaking out into open mutiny, in case the oppressed have sufficient strength, is to do them justice. And what let me ask, will be the case in some sections of the United States ere long, if the increase of the slave population continues to exceed that of the free, as it has done for some years back? Believing as I do, that it will be utterly impossible to prevent a most dreadful catastrophe from befalling some portion of our country if the system of slavery is not abolished, I consider it my duty to warn the unthinking of their danger. This is the principle upon which I have acted, and nothing shall deter me from speaking freely, and in such a way as to be understood.

The insinuation, that I urge an immediate emancipation, in the country generally, is not deserving a moment's attention. It is caught hold of by the writer, as drowning men catch at straws; but he will find it to be of little service to him, inasmuch as it has not a shadow of foundation in truth. He very pompously puts the question, “Can a citizen who possesses, perhaps, no other property than a few acres of land and some negroes, free them—let his family starve, his plantation go to waste, and his creditors suffer?” To some this may seem like a specious show of reasoning; but in turn, I will ask the gentleman if in case a man in the kingdom of Algiers was similarly situated, and held some of his brothers, or sisters, his parents, or his children in the same condition as “a citizen” of Missouri holds his negroes, *whether he should not be compelled to do it?* But this would no doubt very much alter the case. The bodies and souls of *his relations* would, in his estimation, be of more value than all the debts, public and private, due to creditors, in the Dey's dominions; & every Musselman might “starve,” rather than he should be permitted to keep them in bondage an hour. And further, let me ask why should not the person of an African be of as much value as any other?

It is very evident, from the manner in which the “Correspondent” expresses himself, that he *does not wish* to have any measures taken for the abolition of slavery in the United States. All that he says, therefore, about “deploring the misfortune,” and regarding the system

as "a curse to our country," is intended by him to be used as base coin;—to be passed off so as merely to answer present purposes. It is, however, a glorious thing that public opinion has already reduced the advocates of slavery to the necessity of this.

The gentleman seems desirous of giving advice to the people of this State; and fearing that their judgement cannot safely be trusted, he very emphatically urges them to pursue such measures as he in his wisdom has seen fit to recommend.—He says:

"Let our brethren of that State be on their guard, let them have the fear of St. Domingo and the recent circumstances at Charleston before their eyes, and remove the fuse before the shell explodes among them."

The obvious meaning of this is, *let them PUT THE EDITOR OR HIS PRESS OUT OF THE WAY.* This would, perhaps, be something like the "firebrand sweeping system" he speaks of. I have heard of "knuck em down arguments," and "clublaw," but language of this kind appears to me to border on the bombastic; and is such as a person having "the fear of God before his eyes," ought very seldom to use. And further, I must beg of the gentleman to desist from it in future, as *I do not wish to be frightened!*

As to the last paragraph in the article before us, I can assure the writer that when considered in *one sense*, his suspicion is well founded. There are many others besides myself concerned in exposing the evils of the system of slavery, who occasionally occupy a page or two in my paper. This he may have discovered, if he observed the different style of my correspondents. And I fondly hope, and trust they will continue to increase while petty tyrants or their abettors find a resting place on my native soil. But on the other hand, I can also assure him that none besides myself are admitted in the editorial department.

To conclude, I am no way surprised to find so zealous an opponent in Missouri. It is not the first time that I have been assailed by the advocates of slavery in that section of country. The epithets of Tory, Hartford convention man, Blue light, &c. &c. have been freely lavished upon me by some of their most influential characters; and knowing from whence it came, I never considered their abuse as calculated in the least degree to dishon-

our me.—On the contrary I rejoice that I am accounted worthy of their revilings for the humble part I have acted in support of the principles of truth and justice.

THE LIGHT ADVANCING.

It may safely be asserted, that at no period since the changes in the political world have been carefully noted and commemorated by the historian, have the true principles of liberty been as clearly understood, and as eagerly embraced, as at the present. The Rights of Man were long hidden from the greater portion of the inhabitants of the earth, and a few, either by their ingenuity or by accident,* came in possession of the means of exercising authority over the many. Finding themselves clothed with power and having nothing to check their insatiable career, they wantonly sported with the feelings, and even with the lives of those who through ignorance, or blind prejudice, permitted themselves to be made humble footstools and stepping stones to elevate and aggrandize the wildly aspirants. But the scene is changed, and is changing. "*Light has gone forth;*" and nothing but the interposition of Omnipotent power can prevent its diffusion over the regions which yet remain enveloped in the gloom of superstition, and are groping 'neath the midnight veil of political darkness.—Even the nations which had went to the greatest extremes in pursuit of the ignis fatuus of folly, and had reduced the mass of the people to the lowest state of degradation, are opening their eyes to the light that is shedding abroad, and becoming sensible of the wonderful delusion by which they have been led astray.

Upon several occasions I have noticed the progress of correct principles in Spain, in South America, and in divers other places. I have frequently had the satisfaction to record the proceedings of societies and legislative assemblies, both American and European, relative to the abolition of the slave trade, as well as the discouragement of the system of slavery itself; and it is with more than an ordinary degree of pleasure that I now learn a new society has lately been established in France, which has for its object the same humane and benevolent work. It is understood that this society is composed of men whose talents and influence will enable them to render a

* Sometimes by hereditary succession.

service to the great cause of justice and humanity. My limits will not permit me to enlarge upon this subject at present, but in my next I shall take a more general view of it, and shall then also introduce some of the observations and remarks of the Editor of the *Friend of Peace*, relative to the establishment of said society.

Communication.

MR. LUNNEY:

Sometime in September last I gave you a communication to publish in your monthly paper, relating to a negro woman being unwarrantably beaten and abused both by her master and mistress. The facts mentioned in that communication were reported and believed to be substantially true by some of our most respectable citizens; and being a member of the Manumission Society, I felt it my duty to report the same for your paper. Since then, however, I have had reason to believe that the circumstances related in said communication, were wholly unfounded; and, that they were invented, and publicly circulated, by malicious and depraved persons, there cannot be a doubt. I am aware, sir, this piece has excited much interest and anxiety. I know that many threats have been levelled at the writer—I know, too, that his name has been peremptorily demanded of you. Whether you have disclosed it or not, I am as yet ignorant, but your knowledge of common etiquette induces me to believe you have not.* Be that as it may, I have no apprehensions for my personal safety—My sole object in this is to do justice to a party I conceive to be greatly injured. A.

*If the author has unintentionally committed an error in this case, it is an evidence of his magnanimity that he is prompt in correcting it: but he need not be in the least degree apprehensive that any improper course will be pursued by me, in regard to divulging his name. It has not yet, to my knowledge, been made known beyond the precincts of the printing office.—EDITOR.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
FORTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY, OF AMERICAN
INDEPENDENCE.

What means this cry of liberty in a land groaning with slavery and oppression? My ear is pained, my soul is

sick with every day's report of wrong and outrage," whilst each returning anniversary proclaims to us the oft repeated "declaration" that all men are born free and equal, possessed of certain unalienable rights &c. such as liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Blush, Americans—blush, citizens of Baltimore! Within the sound of your cannon, announcing an era of liberty, reminding you that your chains are broken, your fellow men are groaning in captivity, torn from every thing that can render life desirable; the unfortunate descendants of Africa are confined in cellars, until some monster of iniquity comes forward to remove them "out of humanity's reach, and this in the verge of your city, yes, in your very streets.

Oh! what is friendship but a name?

A charm that lulls to sleep;

A shade, that follows wealth and fame,

And leaves the wretch to weep.

Again—within the very walls of our capital, a temple consecrated alike to freedom and to justice, are to be found the legislators of the nation who dare openly to advocate a principle standing opposed to the boasted institution of our country.—What inconsistency; what contradictions. One of our orators, in defence of their rights, says, "Call not Maryland a land of liberty—do not pretend that she has chosen this country as her asylum—that here she has erected her temple, and consecrated her shrine; when here also her unhallowed enemy holds his hellish pandemonium, and our rulers offer sacrifice at his polluted altars." The lily and the bramble may grow in social proximity—but liberty and slavery delight in separation. H. C.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

NO. VIII.

June, 1822.

DEAR SOPHY—

Of all the various tribes of animals that inhabit the earth, or fly in the air, I do not recollect that I have ever known or heard of any that destroy, or annoy their own particular species, but man, excepting in cases of the most pinching hunger, which may possibly be common to each kind.

Man, that was made but a little lower than the angels of heaven—man, who is considered the master piece of creating power, in this lower world; possessed of

reason and immortality, and to whom was given power and dominion over the earth and its irrational tenants, is, perhaps, the only Cannibal, or destroyer of his kind, in existence!—"I see the circling haunt of noisy men, hurst law's inclosure, leap the mounds of right, pursuing and pursued, each other's prey: as wolves for rapine—as the fox for wiles; till death that mighty hunter, earth's them all!" And should we range the gloomy cells of the regions of darkness, perhaps we should not find his equal amongst infernals, in violating the laws of fraternal harmony. *Devil with devil damn'd, firm concord holds—men only disagree!" If man had been created with a nature or propensity that was irresistible, and had not been endowed with reason, nor ever had a law given to him prohibiting every species of violence and injustice on pain of eternal punishment, his ravages and outrage would then have to be borne with patience and submission, without complaint; but when it is recollected that he was created in the image of God, with a holy nature, and endowed with reason to regulate his conduct, and though he has become a fallen being, yet, a remedy is provided in the Gospel, and a law given him that *"worketh no ill to his neighbor,"* the violation of which is punishable with eternal banishment from peace and happiness, and is *written on his own heart*, from his own quick sensibility of wrong, when injustice or violence is offered to himself.—What shall superior beings think of man?—will not the irrational creation rise up in judgment against him? All judicious parents forbid violence and injustice among their children, on pain of chastisement,—mankind are but one large family, the members of which are under the same obligation of exercising reciprocal benevolence to each other, as are the children of any individual family; and the great parent of the human race has also forbidden violence and injustice among his children on pain of eternal punishment; and yet in defiance of this, quarrels, violence, & injustice from age to age have succeeded each other about mere play things or worldly property, which has, in many places, inundated the earth with blood, violently and unjustly reduced millions of its inhabitants to degrading vassalage, and manured its sterile plains with human gore!

Not contented with the prerogative of

ruling the inferior parts of creation, man has acquired the ambition for ruling man—not by the choice of the ruled, but by force on the part of the usurper; & hence the origin of all absolute hereditary monarchies, those fruitful sources of oppression, and scourges of human nature!

What kind of governments existed in the old world, I think we are not informed, but it is said in scripture, that men had greatly corrupted themselves, and that the earth was filled with violence—these things brought the judgments of offended heaven upon them, and they were destroyed!—prophetic to all succeeding ages of desolations for like offences!

It is believed by some that Nimrod was the first absolute monarch after the deluge, and that his being called a *mighty hunter before the Lord*, was on account of his rapacious violence in hunting his fellows of other tribes to make slaves of them, as well as his ruling with absolute domination over his subjects.—Pride, ambition, luxury, and avarice, are concomitants, and where they are combined in one person, they produce a monster in human shape! These demons have been at the bottom of all the oppressions and other acts of violence and injustice that have existed from the days of Nimrod to the present time, and have never failed bringing the judgments of heaven on those who were under their influence, in one form, or another; as it is impossible for any species of oppression or injustice, inflicted by man on man, to go unpunished; for He that sitteth on the circle of the heavens will hold in derision, the wretch that durst oppose his nature. If Nimrod established the first absolute monarchy and was the first enslaver of man, since the flood, (for absolute monarchy and oppression, seem to be synonymous terms) slavery has had a long existence in the world, and the successors of the mighty hunter are still numerous upon the earth.—Like noxious weeds, they can propagate, even in a republican soil!

It is said that that set of human beings called *Cannibals*, hunt up, and make war on other tribes of their own species, in order to eat them, not from necessity, but of choice, because they esteem human flesh as one of the greatest of luxuries. Perhaps the prophet *Micha* spake in allusion to this practice when he accused the oppressive heads, and princes

Fiat Justitia Quia Carum.

of the house of Israel of hating the good, and loving the evil,—of plucking off the skin from their people, and the flesh from off their bones, saying, “*who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them; and they break their bones, and chop them in pieces, as for the pot, as flesh within the cauldron.*” If the violent oppressing of subjects by their rulers, is virtually eating their flesh, &c. as expressed by the prophet, I will leave it to the decision of any judicious mind, whether the instigating of wars amongst the petty sovereigns of Africa by the *mighty hunters* of Christendom, and hunting up their prisoners of war, and all others that they could catch, buy, or kidnap, and bringing them into perpetual unconditional slavery in a strange land that they might contribute to our ease and luxury, is not a still higher grade of Cannibalism; and whether those who are now living on the labour, sweat, and whole life’s earnings of the offspring of the first victims, may not be said to be picking the bones, and sacking the marrow of these captive beings? Many thousands, and perhaps millions of the unhappy Africans would have endured less pain and misery, had they been killed and eaten in their own country, than they have had to suffer by being brought away into slavery, to wear out their lives in hard labour,—literally skinned alive by the whip, without any other recompense than abuse and insult! And do not the sons of *Nimrod* in our own country who kidnap free people of colour, and sell them into slavery in the southern states to replenish the sugar plantations, as well as the voracious consumers of the products, manifest the same *man-eating* disposition, as it is notoriously known that the article of sugar is a *luxury* which is raised and manufactured exclusively by the labor of the slaves?—Hear the language of the victims of oppression:

Think, ye people, while you’re feasting,

On the fruit of sugar cane,

Think, for it our lives are wasting,

We no recompence obtain;

While your cups with sweets you’re filling,

To procure this luxury!

Mercy on us!—have compassion,

Human feelings we possess,

Woe ye then the cruel fashion,

Of thus eating human flesh!!!

Men are vulnerable beings; and as evil diseases are often infectious, they are communicated from one to another with the greatest facility.—Monarchical despotism, it is probable, first gave rise to the moral disorder of slavery, and though it is contrary to every attribute of a republican government, yet the contagion not only spread through the republic of ancient heathen Rome, but the far famed republic of *Christian America* is deeply infected with the mortal disease; and if not removed by the adoption of an anti-monarchical policy, may prove fatal to the government, by entirely subverting its fundamental principles. The subjects of avarice have ever been as blind as moles to their best interest: How mad the policy of bringing into our country a host of beings by force, of a different colour, and of a strange language, & reduce them to servile bondage, and brutal stupidity and ignorance by hard labour, cruel treatment, insulting language, and by wilfully withholding from them the means of useful knowledge—depriving them of all property, and every right that is dear to a rational being;—affording them nothing which is calculated to gain their confidence and affections, but every thing to arouse each remaining sensibility of their souls to hostility to their oppressors; and thus filling the country with inveterate enemies, to keep the citizens in fear, and the public mind in continual perturbation! Notwithstanding these enemies, (for they can be no other whilst in slavery) are in the most degrading subjugation to their oppressors, they multiply exceedingly like the Israelites in Egypt, and hence may become as formidable to us as the Israelites were to the Egyptians; and by being continued still in bondage, there can be nothing to gain their good will to the white population, (which a *liberation* from their condition would ensure,)—there can be no other way, that I can see, to secure the public safety, but to adopt the Egyptian policy, and drown their children in the rivers, and thus fill up the measure of our iniquities to the brim!

As the importing of any more African slaves into America is prohibited by law, African slavery will cease to exist in the United State in time; if it should only be by illicit connexions between the two colours, for mulattoes, and other grades of mixture are very numerous,

especially in the slave states, and in a few more generations, all may come to be of one complexion; but my opinion would be, that it would be better to adopt a more chaste policy, and abolish the detestable monster (slavery) by a legal emancipation. Whether either of these will be the only one adopted, or whether a means similar to that which was used to deliver the Israelites from Egyptian Slavery will be exerted to remove the curse from amongst us, I know not; but as the public mind is considerably awake to the subject, I am not without hope that the foul stigma on our national escutcheon will be wiped away on honorable principles, and that consistency and equanimity will be restored to our great Federal Republic.

I am, &c.

IRENEUS.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
10th Month 29th, 1822.

Respected Friend,

The inclosed is a copy of a letter addressed to a person in England, on the subject of African Slavery, &c. and believing that thy numbers, entitled the "*Genius of Universal Emancipation*," will have a tendency to enlighten the public mind on that subject, I have forwarded it to thy notice, that if any part of it would in thy apprehension, promote in any degree the cause thou art engaged in, it is at thy disposal.

With due regard, I rest thy assured friend,

E. H.

To Benjamin Lundy.

Esteemed Friend,

Thy letters addressed to W. Wilberforce, proposing a means for the final Abolition of the Slave Trade, presented to me through the medium of our mutual friend W. H. were duly received, and are acceptable, as it is always grateful to my best feelings, when I meet with a friend, or any one of the human family, whose compassion and sympathy is excited in the behalf of suffering humanity, let it arise from whatever source it may. But more especially so, when it leads to the commiseration of the vast and unparalleled sufferings, and oppression of the Africans, and their descendants, held in cruel bondage by the unrighteous and oppressive governments of Europe and America.

I have read thy letters with attention and may admit, that if the measures therein proposed, were adopted by the government of England, it might consist with their best policy, and the particular interest of the nation; but whether it would tend to bring about the final Abolition of the Slave Trade, remains a doubt in my mind, at least, in any reasonable time, if ever, so as to afford any redress to the poor, deeply oppressed, and greatly grieved Africans, and their descendants, held in cruel bondage in the British Plantations, and whose cries and groans no doubt ascend to Heaven, imploring immediate relief, which is their just and righteous due.

Should the proposed scheme, with the other measures already adopted by the English and American governments, in a course of years, put a general end to the trade, what benefit is likely to result therefrom, to the poor, oppressed slaves, on the British Plantations in the West Indies, and other of their dominions, as the highest advantage contemplated by the Abolition of the trade, is that they might not be worked quite so hard, in order that they might increase in number, to satisfy the avarice and self-interest of their cruel masters, by bringing forth more children, to be under the entire direction of their absolute wills, and lacerated at their pleasure, by their cruel drivers: and as soon as the child is fit for any service, for any trivial cause, or from motives of selfishness, the child is taken from its parents, and sold, and an eternal separation takes place. What distress of mind, must attend the parents of such children, as no doubt they are daily led to recapitulate their own continual sufferings, when contemplating the bringing into existence by their own act, the child of their love, how must they deplore the dreadful doom, that will fall to his allotment; would they not be led to mourn, if not curse the act, that had given birth to his existence? and I apprehend every sensible slave, that duly considered these things, would endeavor to suppress every desire, that would lead to such an act, knowing the dreadful doom that must inevitably fall to the lot of their tender offspring. Hence I conclude, that very little advantage or ease, will result to the slave, in consequence of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, neither do I believe it to be any more justifiable, in the

Piut Justitia Piut Caritas.

sight of Heaven, to make slaves of the offspring of slaves, than it is, to fetch slaves from Africa; for every child born of a woman, whether bond or free, according to the law of nature, and of nature's God, is born free, and is not accountable for any of its parent's conduct.

I consider the great question arising out of the Slave Trade, and the slavery of the human species resulting from it, is not whether Slavery in a mild way, or in a way more severe, is admissible; but whether involuntary slavery of rational beings, in any way, or in any degree, is not contrary to common justice, derogatory to the law of God, and repugnant to the example, precepts, and doctrines of Jesus Christ. And 2dly, Whether it is possible, that any man, or society of men, who, by their own power and strength of arm, having reduced any number of their fellow creatures, to the degraded state of involuntary Slavery, can, by such cruel and unjust procedure, after holding them thus unjustly for a considerable time under their tyrannical sway, by those unjust and inhuman acts, make it necessary, and justifiable, to hold them still longer under the galling yoke, from the specious pretence of their not being fit for freedom.

To which I shall answer, that involuntary slavery of the human species, in any way or for whatever cause, is inconsistent with common justice, derogatory to the law of God, and repugnant to the examples, precepts and doctrines of Jesus Christ.

1st. It is inconsistent with common justice, because men are born equal, all invested with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; now it must be self evident, to every rational man, that for one man to deprive another, of these blessings, or the free use of them, would be a great breach of common justice.

2d. That it is derogatory to the law of God, is also self evident, as no man can produce any authority from God, to enslave his fellow man, for as he is our common Creator, and has endued us alike with propensities and passions, suited to our common natures, therefore no man can take away the liberty of his fellow creature, by force and violence, without being conscious of doing wrong. This the Scriptures also confirm. Exod.

xxii. ch. 21. "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger or oppress him. Deut. xxiii. 15, 16, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master, the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee." "Thou shalt not oppress him, ibid. xxiv. 14. "Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant, that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren or of the stranger within thy gates." Exod. xxi. 16. "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, shall surely be put to death." If such strict and impartial justice, was required of the Israelites, under that low and servile dispensation, how much greater criminality will attach to the same conduct under the gospel, by which we are called to a more perfect and evangelical righteousness.

This brings me to the third and last head, its repugnancy to the example, precepts and doctrines of Jesus Christ. See Matthew v. 44. "But I say unto you love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good unto them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you." Surely if such good will and kindness towards enemies is required by our great pattern, and first promulgator of Christianity, from all his followers, how are they to demean themselves towards their innocent neighbors, whom we are commanded to love as ourselves? Matthew vii. and 12. "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This no slaveholder ever does, until he manumits his slaves, and makes them full restitution, for the surplus labor they have done for him, for which they have received no compensation. Many more passages of Scripture might be produced of the like import, but these may suffice, as sufficient proof of the correctness of the foregoing premises. And 2dly, I feel myself warranted to answer the 2d query, in the positive language, "it is not possible that any man, or society of men, who by their own power and strength of arm, having reduced any number of their fellow creatures, to the degraded state of involuntary slavery, can by such cruel and unjust procedure, after holding them unjustly for a considerable time, under their tyrannical sway, by their unjust and inhuman acts, make it necessary and justifiable to hold them still longer under the galling yoke, from the specious pretence of their not being fit for free-

doubt as the contrary would be admitting one of the most atrocious crimes, that man can be guilty of, to justify another of the like kind, and thereby sanction them both. And it must be evident to every reflecting mind, that it is impossible for Divine Wisdom and Infinite Justice, ever to admit his rational creature to do evil, purposely, that good may come of it.

I may now observe, that I was led to marvel at thy mode of reasoning, in the 26th and 27th pages of thy letters. Thou observes, "Benevolent feelings, however they are evinced, are entitled to our respect, though in order to any practical good, they must be directed by sound judgment. It is not the comparative comfort or the condition of the people we deal with, that we are so much to look to, as whether our trading tends to improve, or to impair that condition." This is correct, but what follows is not so clear, for although it might not be inconsistent with common justice, to deal with the Africans, (who are in the practice of buying and selling each other as slaves,) in wood, teeth, and palm oil, and which might be a mutual interest and benefit to both parties, yet should an individual or a nation, in this trade, by observing from time to time, the cruel practices, that his or their associates in trade were in, by buying and selling and making merchandize of each other, feel his or their minds revolt at the cruel and unrighteous practice, and become conscious, that it was a Christian duty to endeavor by the best means in their power, to persuade them, or bring them to see that it was their best interest to quit and abandon the horrid practice; and after having tried every reasonable means by persuasion and entreaty without effect, they were led to touch their interest, as the last alternative, and although it might be a considerable sacrifice of their own interest, to abandon this trade justly carried on between them, in wood, &c. yet such was their concern and desire for their improvement, that they yielded to the abandonment of their own interest, for the sake of promoting theirs, and believing that the trade in those articles of lawful traffic, was much more profitable to them than the other, in full confidence that the measure would succeed, they let those dealers in slaves know the only condition on which they could any longer trade with them,

was their entire abandonment of the iniquitous and abominable trade in their fellow men, and which proposition had its desired effect. Now would anyone dare to say, that this procedure was not founded in sound judgment and true Christian charity.

It is my solid judgment, that was mankind in their commerce one with another, regulated by a principle of immutable justice, and would entirely abandon that almost universal, although ungodly custom of reasoning in their affairs, from consequences which no finite being has a right to do: injustice and oppression would soon be banished from the face of the earth, and every judicious, serious mind, I conceive may easily discover, that reasoning from consequences has its rise and origin in the spirit of selfishness, and therefore generally counteracts true justice.

Thomas Clarkson, in his Portraiture of Quakerism, has paid the society of Friends, a high compliment, where he says "they generally reason upon principle, and seldom upon consequences." I say a high compliment, for although it might apply correctly to our worthy friends in the primitive days, yet I fear it can hardly be considered more than a compliment, to the general body of Society, in the present day. For although Thomas Clarkson, has spoken very favorably of this mode of reasoning and of its correctness, yet he and his friends in England, have generally deviated from this doctrine, and adopted the contrary custom. For all the steps taken, and arguments adduced on the great question of the Slavery of the Africans, held in cruel bondage and captivity in the British colonies; there is scarcely an appeal to the principle of perfect justice, nor a proposition brought forward for restoring to the unjustly robbed, grieved and sorely oppressed Africans, held in abject slavery in their Colonies, to their just rights. But the utmost stretch of their ingenuity, and human policy, appears exercised to find out what way will be most conducive to the interest of the nation, and tend most to the quiet settlement of the cruel West India planters, by putting them in a way of being fully furnished with a sufficient number of slaves. Should the slave trade be discontinued, the scheme proposed, was for them to raise them from the slaves already in their possession.

fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

In the same manner as the farmer augments his stock of cattle, and being placed on a level with the beast of the field, by the supposed wholesome laws of Great Britain, they are bought and sold in like manner; is it not as cruel and unjust to make slaves of these innocent children, as it is to import slaves from Africa?

Thy next position, respecting the weavers, &c. I seem not to know what thou wouldst infer from it, as it appears not to be connected with slavery. But the following position appears to me somewhat extraordinary. Thou sayst, "and though I abhor slavery in every form, yet far be it from me to censure all those who may hold men in slavery." This to me is a paradox I am at a loss to solve. Thou first declares thy abhorrence of every kind of slavery, and then assures us there is a kind thou approves of; for as slavery is an effect and not a cause, therefore as the cause from whence slavery has its existence, must be worse than the effect, and of course more abhorrent, hence, as wicked men have ever been the cause of slavery, who by might and power, without any plea of right, make captives of their fellow men and reduce them into a state of entire degradation and subjection to their own wills & caprice; now, thou abhorrest this slavery, but at the same time thou art reconciled to the cause that effected it, and without which it would have had no existence; but I apprehend it would be more consistent with justice, mercy and truth, to abhor the men, and of course every man, who by an undue and unrighteous use of his power, reduces a fellow creature to the abject state of a slave, or being in possession of him as such, retains him in that state contrary to his own will and choice, which I consider the most wicked and abominable act that a man can be guilty of, short of wilful murder; hence I consider thy next position altogether incorrect, for

"For although I might, respect the feeling of a man who should at once emancipate his slave, yet how much more deserving of esteem would he be, whose feelings were governed by judgment, and held them in slavery until he had so prepared them, as to make emancipation a benefit."

This note comprehends the position assumed to, as being altogether incorrect.

the following reasons. And first, because the same plea has been made use of, to my certain knowledge, by the most hardy of slave holders for more than fifty years past, and which has been their great bulwark to silence every correct and rational argument made use of to induce them to do justice to their poor oppressed slaves, by restoring them to liberty, which only places them in a state suitable for improvement; as the tendency of slavery is to lead steadily down to a state of degradation, therefore nothing short of liberty can lead in a contrary course, and I have never known in the course of my life, among slaves, and slave holders, of that plea being realized, in a single instance, and the reason why it has not, is, because those who have made this plea, have always done it from selfish motives, not being willing to give up their slaves; and because it is rationally impossible, to prepare the mind of a slave, while in slavery, so as to be in a better state to enjoy freedom unless we admit, that the tendency of slavery is capable of working directly contrary effects, which cannot be, for as before observed, the tendency of slavery is to lead directly down to a state of degradation, so nothing short of their being set at liberty therefrom, can open the way for their rising out of it. Its inconsistency will also further appear, as it supposes a capacity in man in his own will to produce good out of evil. And I may further observe, that I never knew an instance in the course of my life, of any honest, judicious man, being fully convinced of the unrighteousness of holding his fellow creature in bondage, that ever dare, or felt any inducement to put off setting them free, under the plea of their not being fit for freedom; but I have known faithful men, who have been fearful of procrastinating, least something might transpire, that might put it out of their power to do that justice to their slaves, by setting them free, which they were conscious was their absolute duty.

Had the society of Friends in this country, yielded to such a plea, or admitted it to have been either rational or just, when they first became convinced of the unrighteousness and injustice of holding their fellow-creatures in a state of involuntary slavery, it is most probable that the thousands, and tens of thou-

sands who have been manumitted and set free by them and others in our land, would still have been held under the galling yoke, or have ended their days in a state of thralldom and bondage. For not only this plea, of the unfitness of the slave for freedom, in their degraded state, was brought forward by those who were anxiously desirous of continuing them under their absolute control, but many other pretences and reasonings of the like kind were urged very strenuously to prevent, if possible, the work of manumission going forward. One other was, the law of the land was against it, that is, none were permitted to set a slave free, until he had entered into bonds of considerable amount, with good security, to indemnify the town in which he resided, from every species of damage or expence, that should occur by such slave set free, and other pleas of a similar nature, as probable consequences, was also thrown in the way. But the honestly exercised part of society, in direct opposition to all these obstacles, found it their absolute duty, under the direction of a principle of equal and impartial justice, to go directly forward, regardless of consequences and by written instruments under their hands and seals, well attested, declared every slave in their possession, both old and young, free and at full liberty to act for themselves. Such as were under the ages of 21 and 18 years, agreeable to their sex, were declared free at those ages, and in a short time, thousands were restored to their just rights of freedom, and not only by members of the society, but many of their surrounding neighbors, were induced to follow their example, and I never heard a single individual say, that he had set one free too soon; but was fully persuaded, that what he had done in the case was not only his duty, but his best interest. And what is most just, and righteous, in such a case for an individual, is no doubt the same to a nation or government. And I am fully in the belief, from my own experience and many years observation, that was the governments of Christendom to unite, and declare all the slaves in their dominions free, after making arrangements suitable to the occasion, which would take but little time, was there only a disposition to do justice to their oppressed

and unjustly robbed slaves; for I believe there is nothing prevents its being effected, but selfishness and hard heartedness in their oppressors. And have they not fair warning to be up and doing whilst they have it in their power, for if they are not redressed seasonably, they will ere long find redress in another way, and it may be by terrible proceedings towards their oppressors. Witness Saint Domingo, was not the slaves of that island fit for freedom? Yes! no doubt much more so, than their cruel masters. And are not the slaves in the British Islands, in the West Indies, fit for freedom? Yes, it is my candid opinion, they are more so, than their cruel and unrighteous masters. For instance, should a West India Planter, act the same tragedy to a Englishman, on the Island of Britain, that he is acting every day to an African, on the Island of Jamaica, by himself or proxy, would not a very severe penalty be inflicted upon him, as a just reward of his crime? And I believe strict and impartial justice is as much the right, and is as justly due from the English government, to an African in the Island of Jamaica, as it is to an Englishman in the Island of Great Britain. Is it not therefore the duty of every real Christian, and a worthy and suitable exercise, for every Philanthropic mind, to attend to the exhortation of Solomon, Prov. xxxi. 8, 9. "Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction, Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy?"

E. H.

From the Morning Chronicle.

FRIEND ALLEN—Conversing a few days since with one of your sex on the subject of American freedom, I ventured to express an opinion that our annual celebration of this Era was but a farce, whilst so many of our fellow creatures were groaning under the most oppressive bondage, and, our "Declaration of Independence" a mere idle form of words pronouncing "all men free and equal" whilst every week witnesses parents torn from their children, husbands from their wives; and every tie which can render life desirable burst assunder with impunity—I say with impunity, because, with a few exceptions, what men are found actively engaged in the sup-

pression of this horrid traffic? This day whilst in the enjoyment of that *liberty* designed by a gracious Providence for all that breathe, I walk'd forth to enjoy the evening air in a wood which opens on the public road.—What were the first objects that greeted my eye, and sent my blood with increas'd velocity to my heart?—A band of negroes, men, women, and infant children, surrounded by demons in the form of drivers—Oh! how my soul sickened at the sight; children of one Heavenly Parent, created in his pleasure, and designed for heirs of his kingdom, chained together by the neck and driven like beasts to the slaughter.—Look at it, you that are friends to humanity, nor let the *too common plea*, that the evil is entailed upon our country, induce you to relax in your efforts to “undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free.”—You that are professors of a holy religion, consider what you are about—Look to your standing. It pains me to see so many of you satisfied with performing the obligations of your respective churches, whilst “*your ministers* and those who serve your altars” are upholding this abomination in the sight of God. I make but little profession—I am no communicant at your altars—but, much as I respect every religious institution, I could never remain an hour a member of any society that did not bear the world a testimony against this crying evil.

What avails the constant observation of forms and ceremonies, whilst you neglect the express command to “do justly and love mercy?”—In vain do we press to the crowded temples—In vain strain every nerve for the dissemination of the sacred writings, whilst in the open violation of its divine precepts;—What will be our public munificence in the cause of suffering humanity, whilst we make distinctions in color, and are found to be regardless of groans and sighs which reach the offended Majesty of Heaven) transporting the victims of our power to foreign task masters, there to drag out a miserable existence worse than death.

What shall I say to those of my own sex who can so far forget the sympathies which unite *them* to the objects of their affection as to consent to such an outrage upon the feelings of others. Oh! woman, woman, (to whom has been peculiarly ascribed all the fine feelings which adorn human nature) where is thy

blush?—Such as have with an honest zeal penetrated dungeons to rescue the few that are entitled to their freedom, have in many instances recognized you as the authors of this inhuman mischief.—Some trivial offence between the mistress and her slave, has condemned them to punishment in its most aggravated form.—Look at the picture!—“Consider your ways and be wise”—for a day of retribution will surely come. S.

The late Congressional election at Cincinnati, Ohio, appears to have been pretty warmly contested. Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison, who was at one time the most popular man in that section of country, was a candidate; but owing to his well known sentiments in favor of slavery (it is believed) he lost his election. Let the candidates for public favor take warning.

The following article relative to the conduct of the General is copied from the “*Independent Press*,” a paper published in that city.

SLAVERY AGAIN!!!

William Henry Harrison attempts to justify his universal support of slavery, by the Constitution of the United States:—This is another evidence of his want of candor. There is not a word in that instrument that allows *slavery*; nor is the word *slavery* mentioned in it. Our Declaration of Independence says, “*All men are born Free and Equal*,” and the Constitution says, “the United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union, a Republican form of government.” Every man must be his own judge, whether it is consistent in a republican government, to enslave an innocent person who was “*born free*.”

One very important fact deserves here to be noticed. General Harrison does not appear to doubt the right of the State Legislatures to make their own laws on the subject of slavery.—Arkansas is not a state, but a territory; and its Legislature is Congress; Congress, then, has power to pass any law for the government of that territory, which its Legislature would have if it was a state. Under this view of the subject, we should suppose the General might at least have allowed the children of slaves to be made free at the age of 25 years; thus affording one “*Facility to get rid of this curse*.”

A circumstance transpired about seven years ago in this city, which shows clearly the tyrannical disposition of this self-styled "ardent friend of human liberty." The story is related by the family who witnessed the scene, as follows:—About the time above stated, Gen. Harrison entered the house of Mr. Jacob Hoops, on sixth street, in search of a black woman named Hetty, whose services he claimed. He found her at her work in the kitchen, and immediately ordered her to get her clothes and follow him. The woman started to go up stairs, which were at that time in an unfinished state, and as she was old and clumsy, and probably withal a good deal agitated, she found it difficult to ascend, whereupon the General fell a beating her with his cane, in a most unmerciful manner, and actually broke it by the violence of the blows. Notwithstanding he was William H. Harrison, late a general in the army, he received a severe reprimand from a young lady, the daughter of Mr. Hoops, which, if it did not shame him, very much astonished him! Mr. Hoops, hearing a disturbance in the house, went in and enquired the cause; whereupon the "Humane" noble hearted General, seeing a man in the house, immediately retired. Shortly after he had the woman arrested according to law, took her before a magistrate and substantiated his claim to her.

Now came on the second act of this heart rending scene. The woman, (as might be expected from the treatment she had received,) utterly refused to go with the General. She said he had agreed to set her free at a certain time, on condition she would come with him from Vincennes to this state—that she had left her husband and come on that condition; and that the time appointed had expired. But her entreaties were of no avail; this friend of "Human freedom," had her dragged in a most shocking, brutal manner, across the common to his boat on the river!! Incontestible proof will be given to these statements, if called for.

Mr. Hoops lives on sixth street, near the Episcopal Church—His family can testify to the truth of the transactions in his house.

HUMANITY.

In a debate in the British House of Lords on the 20th of 6th month (the East and West India Trade Bill being before

the House,) Lord Holland stated the following important fact:

"What would be the condition of the slaves" said he, "if in consequence of the introduction of this clause, the advantage offered should not be accepted by the colonies? Intercourse between America and the West Indies was indispensable to the maintenance of the black population in the latter. In consequence of that intercourse having ceased during the war, no less than 15,000 of those unfortunate beings had perished."

THE WORK IS PROGRESSING.

A new Society has lately been formed in the State of Illinois, the members of which have taken the title of "THE FRIENDS OF HUMANITY." They held a meeting on the 4th of the 10th month last, and have published their proceedings in the Edwardsville Spectator.—If there shall be room, their minutes will be inserted in this paper next month.

The following was addressed to the Friends of Humanity in the States of Illinois and Missouri, by their delegates to the aforesaid meeting.

A CIRCULAR LETTER.

VERY DEAR BRETHREN,

We met according to appointment, to our mutual satisfaction. Our hearts were gladdened, our hands strengthened, and a spirit of love, peace, humility, and unanimity appeared to pervade the whole.

After deliberating in conference on such measures and arrangements as we judged to be most conducive to the prosperity of the cause in which we have embarked, we thought proper, once more, to offer to your serious consideration, the alarming situation in which we view a great portion of our fellow citizens, who, to all appearance, are posting with rapid strides to eternal ruin, that we may, at least, endeavor to deprecate the impending storm, and that ourselves stand fast in, & duly appreciate the glorious liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

Who but those who are enveloped in gross darkness, do not see with horror, the alarming progress of every species of vice throughout every section of our much enlightened and most distinguished nation, such as infidelity, drunkenness, lewdness, perfidy, perjury, blasphemy, theft, robbery, murder, &c. These horrid crimes cry aloud for vengeance; but

what are all these in comparison with a practice in which a great part of our republican nation (to their unspeakable shame) are most heartily engaged. A practice, which is in itself, not only a flagrant violation of the laws of the Most High, but is attended with crimes of the deepest dye.

Who would believe! who would imagine, but those who know it to be a notorious fact, that any of the truly brave, polite, and, in many respects, truly humane Americans, whose fathers rejected, with becoming indignation, the cup of political bondage as soon as offered, would still continue to drench the non-feeding sons and daughters of Africa with the horrid cup of merited, involuntary, perpetual, hereditary, absolute, and most abject slavery? But what is more shocking than this, not only to religious people, but even to moral deists, & confirms them more and more in their infidelity, is, that people who profess to enjoy the very mind of the benevolent Saviour, should become more deeply immersed in the spirit and practice than even the Turks.* But to our further astonishment, we find churches in free states are no ways alarmed to be in full fellowship with those who buy and sell, whip and drive, give and bequeath the souls and bodies of men, women, and children—the offspring of the Most High—the purchase of the Immanuel's blood!

And will not a just, jealous, and sin-avenging God visit a people guilty of such enormities? And have not the precursors of his judgments made their awful appearance already? If not, what mean those tremendous tornadoes that have lately swept every thing before them with the besom of destruction? Terrific earthquakes in divers places, appalling the boldest of the sons of courage! Plagues, or fierce diseases, heretofore unknown, baffling the aid of our ablest physicians, and swelling the annual bills of mortality, in towns and country, to an alarming amount? If these be only the precursors, or preludes, what must the main storm be? "And who shall be able to stand when he appeareth?" May we, therefore, watch and pray always, that we may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man.

*As soon as a slave in Algiers becomes a *Muhammadan*, he is emancipated.

MUSES' BOWER, And Miscellaneous Department.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind;
Nenth the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

THE SOLILOQUY OF A BELIEVING SLAVE,
HELD BY A PROFESSED CHRISTIAN.
Cease, cease ye stormy winds to blow,
While to the lonesome woods I go;
There for to vent my pain and grief—
In prayer, alone, I find relief.
Born on Columbia's pleasant coast,
Where men of freedom loudly boast;
Where laws proclaim' all should be free,
But yet no freedom do I see.
My master bears the Christian name—
Tho' he's the cause why I complain.
Altho' oppressed by him I be,
Yet Lord, I do believe in thee.
Oft times to Church with him I go,
My heart bow'd down with grief and woe;
And as a brother, with him join
To celebrate thy praise divine.
And with him at thy table meet,
My Saviours love to celebrate;
But when at home, a tyrant he
Feels not for human misery.
Compell'd to labour hard each day,
For which I can receive no pay;
Expos'd to scorn and ridicule,
By these that o'er me bear the rule,
My grief's to great for flesh to bear,
My food and raiment, homely fare.
If I am sick, yet I must go,
My master's service still to do.
He will not hear my sore complaint,
When under sickness I do faint;
Calls me an idle saucy dog,
And oft with whips he doth me flog.
Hard is my fate, yet 'tis not all,
Much sorer conflicts me befall;
My dearest wife—how can I tell!
To cruel traders he did sell!—
My dearest wife and children too,
He sold unto the trading crew.
And far away she now is borne,
And I am left to weep and mourn.
No friend to soothe or bear me up,
To sweeten bondage's bitter cup;
To cheer my heart distress'd and sore;
Ah! she is gone forevermore.
No comfort I expect to have,
No joy or peace this side the grave.
Oh Lord dost thou with equal eyes,
View all the tribes of Adam rise?

Why dost thou hide thy face from slaves,
 Condemn'd to labour hard for knaves.
 Like beasts to be in market sold,
 To bear the heat, endure the cold;
 To work all day, and half the night,
 Then rise before the morning light.
 To bear the lash, endure the pain,
 Expos'd to storms of snow and rain;
 And after all our tedious round,
 At night like beasts lie on the ground.
 Has heaven decreed that negroes must
 By cruel men be thus oppress'd?
 And doom'd to wear the galling chain,
 Ne'er to enjoy themselves as men?
 When will Jehovah hear our cries;
 When will the sun of freedom rise;
 When will a Moses for us stand,
 To lead us out from Pharaoh's hand?
 Oh! is there none to intercede,
 And is there none our cause to plead?
 Hark! what is that—me thinks I hear
 A voice that does my spirits cheer.
 There are who have your cause at heart,
 Justice to all for to impart.
 To break those chains that bind so tight,
 And give to all, their natural right.
 A pleasing thought! may it indeed
 Be true that some our cause do plead,
 In time, Oh Lord, then yet wilt hear,
 And answer the poor negro's prayer.
 What, tho' our skins be black as jet,
 Our hair be curl'd, our noses flat,
 Must we for this no freedom have,
 Until we find it in the grave?
 But Oh! whilst I my fate condoie,
 Jesus, my Lord, possess my soul;
 That when my bondage here may end,
 I quickly may to thee ascend.
 There's none like thee to plead my cause,
 My soul appeals to thy just laws,
 Who will bring all things yet to light;
 I know thy judgments all are right;
 And all the comfort I can have,
 While I am thus confin'd a slave,
 Is a firm hope that I'll be free,
 By thy rich blood once shed for me.
 My soul is free, it can't be sold,
 For all the wealth that may be told.
 And when my body sinks to dust
 My spirit in thy hand's I'll trust.
 My soul I trust with thee shall rest,
 In Abraham's bosom with the bless'd.
 While proud oppressors trembling stand,
 Condemn'd to woe at thy left hand.
 Contentment Lord on me bestow,
 While I remain a slave below,
 And while I suffer grief and wrong,
 Let thy salvation be my song.

*On constitutional principles.

From the Christian Mirror.

(AN EXTRACT.)

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Joy, joy to the world, its redemption is
 near,
 The desire of all nations will shortly ap-
 pear;
 Immanuel comes, in triumph to reign
 O'er the world, and its kingdoms, with
 all they contain.
 On the tops of the mountains his heralds
 are seen;
 (How beauteous their aspect, how lovely
 their mien)
 Proclaiming salvation with every breath,
 In the regions of darkness, and shadow
 of death.
 They call on the nations to rise from
 dark night,
 To come and rejoice in his heavenly
 light;
 To hush the tumultuous nations to peace;
 And give Ethiopia's sons a release,
 From the hard galling fetter, the scourge
 and the rod,
 And restore them their freedom, their
 country, their God.
 Compassion, and Love! how extensive
 their sway!
 Lo, thousands and thousands their man-
 dates obey;
 And can there be any, whose bosoms
 have felt
 The burden of sin, and the torment of
 guilt;
 Who still can refuse to rescue a world
 From the awful abyss, into which it is
 whirl'd?

At the late session of the Superior
 Court in Currituck county, (N. C.) a
 free negro man, named *Moses Fuller*,
 was sentenced to the gallows for seduc-
 ing and stealing, in conjunction with se-
 veral other persons, a certain negro wo-
 man slave, contrary to a statute of the
 State of North Carolina, making the of-
 fence death without benefit of clergy.—
 He is to be executed on the 29th in-
 stant.—*Norfolk Herald.*

[What is to be done with those "other
 persons," with whom he acted "in con-
 junction?"—Are they to escape the pen-
 alties of the law, while the wretch whom
 they either bribed or threatened into the
 measure suffers?—Bring out the princi-
 pals—let "equal and exact justice" be
 done.—G. U. Eman.]

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 6. Vol. II.

TWELFTH MONTH, 1822.

WHOLE No. 18.

The letter to the editor from a Female Friend in New Jersey, inserted in page 84 of this paper, is well worthy the perusal of every friend of emancipation in the United States. The writer is very young, but if we may judge from appearances—from her style and manner of expressing her sentiments, it will not be too much to say, that she has a mind of no ordinary mould, and is possessed of talents that would be an honour to one of maturer years.

We have been exceedingly unfortunate in the publication of the letters of *Ireneus*. It is but justice to the author to say that through hurry we have been greatly in fault, or so many errors would not have escaped notice as have at various times.—In the last number the poetry introduced in page 72 should read thus:—

Think ye people while you're feasting

On the fruit of sugar cane,
Think for it our lives are wasting,

We no recompence obtain;
While your cups with sweets you're filling,

Jovial all, and full of glee,
Knotty whips our blood is spilling,
To procure this luxury!

Mercy on us!—have compassion,

Human feelings we possess,
Cease ye then the cruel fashion,
Of thus eating human flesh!!!

We occasionally receive information of the hopeful prospects of the American Colonization Society. Some flattering accounts have lately been published relative to the settlement at Cape Messurado. When I shall discover that a disposition manifests itself amongst the holders of slaves, and in the national and state legislatures, to adopt a regular system of education and emancipation; and when I learn that the agents sent out by the society as well as others, refrain from vending spirituous liquors among the natives, then, and not till then, shall I entertain the hope of their measures becoming generally and permanently

useful. The present plan of operation is calculated merely to lull the minds of the people, into a state of ease and security, and will be but partially beneficial. It is very unwise to legislate by halves. Strike at the root of an evil, and let the efforts to extirpate it have a general tendency.

It would seem that the late occurrences at Charleston in South Carolina, have induced some of the southern people to think a little on the subject of their un-enviable situation.

A writer in the *American Farmer* has set to work in good earnest to shew the necessity of a CHANGE OF POPULATION. I suppose there are many in the present day, who would engage as actively in transporting the Negroes back to Africa, as they did some time ago in bringing them hither, provided, they were sure of getting paid for it.

"SERVILE CONSPIRACY."

Review of the Letter of Governor Bennett, of South Carolina, relative to the meditated insurrection of the Blacks, near Charleston, in that State.

The Letter of the governor of South Carolina, relative to the late conspiracy among the blacks in that State, was evidently intended to answer a two-fold purpose. The object was, 1st, to allay the fears and anxiety of the white people in the slaveholding States, & more particularly in that section of country—& 2d, to remove the apprehensions of Foreigners as to the propriety of settling there.

His excellency professes to have given us a true representation of "the occurrences as they have transpired," and assures us "that the attempt has not only been greatly magnified, but as soon as discovered, it ceased to be dangerous."

It will readily be admitted, that, as the plot was discovered in time to secure the ringleaders before it was ripe for execution, it then ceased to be dangerous.—But unless we are to suppose, (which for my part I am unwilling to do,) that the court proceeded upon the plan of the

British government, and created an alibi for the purpose of an excuse to draw the cord of oppression tighter, we must yield to the belief that a great deal of danger really existed. Why were so many executed, &c. so many banished from the society of their relatives, if this was not the case?—He will, doubtless say that some cause existed for such measures, and that to prevent danger, an unusual degree of severity was necessary. But I would wish to impress it on his mind, as well as all slaveholders, that this is a very unsafe ground to go upon. It might be supposed that he is sensible of this, for he commences his account of the developement of the plot by saying, that “*A servant prompted by attachment to his master, communicated to him,*” &c.—Here is *prima facie* evidence that the safety of the master, in many cases, consists in securing the attachment of the slave; and this we all know can only be done by kind and merciful treatment.

That there was much more danger than the governor would have us to suppose, I infer from the great anxiety manifested upon the occasion, from the relative situation of the different classes, and from the very nature of the system of slavery. The slaves in that section of country are exceedingly numerous; and the mistaken opinion has been generally entertained that to keep them in ignorance, and treat them with severity, is the only means of preserving a proper subordination among them.* Shut out

* History may be cited to shew the fallacy of such doctrine. (*See History of Missions in the West Indies.*)

“As a proof of the importance of Christianizing the Negroes, even in a political point of view, it is not unworthy of notice, that soon after the commencement of the war with France, the governor of Tortola received information, that the French inhabitants of Guadeloupe meditated a descent on the island. He immediately sent for Mr. Turner, the superintendent of the missions in Tortola, and the other Virgin islands, and having informed him of this report, added, that there was no regular force in the colony to defend it against the enemy, and that they were afraid to arm the Negroes, unless he would put himself at the head of them. Mr. Turner was sensible, that such a step was not properly within the line of the ministerial office; but yet considering that the island was

from the means of religious or moral improvement; reduced to the lowest and most humiliating state of degradation; compelled to labour without the hope of reward, save the scanty pittance which barely serves to sustain life; and often scourged in the most brutal and unfeeling manner for trivial offences; how could it be expected that under such circumstances they would rest contented? Although they are debased nearly to a

in imminent danger, that if it were conquered by the French, the religious privileges of the Negroes would probably be lost, and that the war on their part was entirely of a defensive nature, he consented to the governor's request, and was accordingly armed with the Negroes. About a fortnight after, a French squadron made its appearance in the bay; but being informed, it is supposed, by some emissaries, of the armed force on the island, they abandoned their design, and retired.”

Soon after this event, the governor-general of the Leeward islands sent an order to the Methodist missionaries, to make a return of all the Negroes in their societies who were able to carry arms. The return was accordingly made; and a great part, if not the whole of them, were armed for the defence of the several islands. Such was the confidence which the governor-general had in the loyalty of the missionaries and of their flocks.

“The leading doctrines taught by all our missionaries (say the committee) are the following: The eternal existence of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the total ignorance, sinfulness, misery, and helplessness of man; the necessity of remission of sins, and of a complete renewal of the heart in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, after the image of him that created us; the infinite mercy and grace of God, as the only source of man's redemption; and the atonement made by Jesus Christ for the sins of the whole world. They constantly affirm, that the mediatorial work of Christ is the sole meritorious cause of salvation; that whatever subordinate means may be employed, the Holy Spirit is the grand and proper agent of the work of grace in the heart; that repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are necessary to the sinner's actual participation of pardon

level with brutes, still there is a something in them which cannot be extinguished. It has existed in the human breast ever since the day that "God created Adam." A Nimrod, a Nero, a Caligula, and a thousand others, have strove, in vain, to eradicate it, and it ill becomes a petty tyrant, *professing republicanism*, to make the silly attempt. It is the intellectual vision—the vital spark emanating from Deity, and has its residence in the soul. It is connected with the body in such a way, that neither the inventions of earth or hell can destroy it. Possessed of this, it is impossible for them to be reconciled to their abject condition. They hear, and *understand the meaning*, of the words Liberty, Freedom, &c. which are in every white man's mouth. Many of them are permitted to hear our Fourth of July Orations; and some of them can sing the

and eternal life, and that believers must persevere in holiness to the end of their days, in order that their labour may not be in vain in the Lord.

Among the members of the Methodist societies in the West Indies, there are not a few, we hope, who are sincere converts to the Christian faith, though we fear there is a considerable tincture of enthusiasm among them. All of them so far as is known, fulfil with propriety the relative duties of life, even their own masters being judges; or if any occasionally transgress the rules of morality, they are excluded from the connection, at least after neglecting due reproof. They have all abandoned the practice of polygamy, the besetting sin of the negroes; and the fatal influence of Obeah, or witchcraft, which is often productive of most terrible mischief, among the slaves, is effectually destroyed wherever Christianity prevails. As a proof of the general good conduct of the converts, it is not unworthy of notice, that when an office which requires trust and confidence becomes vacant, such as that of a watchman, it is a usual practice with the planters and managers to enquire for a religious negro to fill it. Indeed, in Antigua, Nevis, Tortola and St. Vincent's, the proprietors of estates, and the other inhabitants, are so fully satisfied with the conduct of the missionaries, and so sensible of the political as well as moral and religious advantages resulting from their labours, that they entirely support the missions in these islands by their voluntary contributions."

songs, aye, the *battle songs*, of American warriors. It would be strange indeed, if these things should not have some effect in producing discontent among them; and nothing can prevent its baleful tendency as long as they are denied the benefits of religious instruction, and deprived of the inalienable rights that nature gave.—Hence, I consider it reasonable to suppose that the plot alluded to was extensively and deeply laid, and that its timely discovery, alone, prevented a scene of bloodshed and massacre, at the bare thought of which, humanity would have shuddered. And I further believe, that there will always be more or less of danger, in many parts of our country, on account of the dreadful vassalage of a portion of the inhabitants, until a radical change is effected, and the hell-born monster oppression is completely exterminated. It may be laid down as a maxim, that the bosom of a man who has been deprived of his natural rights, is the seat of enmity, and that he is ever ready to embrace the opportunity of revenging the outrage, unless he is acquainted with the rules of Christianity, and has been taught to "forgive his enemies."

Leaving that part of the letter that is confined to a narration of the circumstances, we come to a passage of rather extraordinary import, and which is particularly calculated to arrest the attention. Speaking of the conduct of one of the conspirators, the governor says:—"Materials were abundantly furnished in the seditious pamphlets brought into this State, by equally culpable incendiaries; while the speeches of the oppositionists in congress to the admission of Missouri, gave a serious and imposing effect to his machinations."—Here we are told that "*seditious pamphlets*" have been published, and "*incendiaries*" employed in distributing them. And further, that certain speeches delivered in Congress, (which are of course also considered *seditious* no doubt,) were made use of to promote the insurrection. Why did he not also tell us, that the Declaration of American Independence, (which some of the Europeans think a horribly *seditious* thing,) as well as the thousands of speeches, orations, toasts and songs, that are echoed and re-echoed from hill to hill, were used for the same purpose?—This was no doubt the fact; and a particular passage in the venerable Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, was likewise very

probably made use of, all of which, together with the writings of Franklin, Rush, and hundreds of others, on slavery, are now to be viewed as *vile*, "seditious," and TREASONABLE!!!—But it would not have answered the gentleman's purpose to have brought these things into view. It was his desire to cast a reflection upon some of our Statesmen, in order to counteract the effects of their patriotic exertions relative to the *Missouri Question*, and the occasion was so extremely opportune that he could not let it pass without indulging his favourite wish.

With respect to the "seditious pamphlets" of which he speaks, he has not been sufficiently explicit to enable us to form an idea of their character. So various are the sentiments of different persons; that what some would view in that light, by others is frequently considered quite the reverse. That there may have been unworthy persons employed in circulating mischievous publications, is possible; but we never heard any thing of it until his excellency's vision was brightened by the discovery of a negro plot; consequently it is doubtful whether that occurrence did not magnify, and even transform certain objects, as they passed under his review. It may not be amiss, however, to observe, and I wish every one to lay it to heart, that wherever oppression prevails, there will not only be plottings and insurrectionary efforts, but that there will also be individuals of daring enterprise, in other places, ready to embark in the work of revolution, whenever it may commence. Many will do it in the hope of enriching or aggrandizing themselves, regardless of every tie, religious or moral, that binds man to man, or promotes a feeling of charity and brotherly love. Others will proceed from what they believe to be a sense of duty—from a desire to uphold the principles of liberty; and though the means they use may be in direct violation of Christian maxims and precepts, still, they will reconcile it to their consciences as well as they can. This state of things may be looked for until the true light of Christianity shall be more generally shed abroad in the hearts of men. When this shall be the case, the occasion will no longer exist; for not only wars and lightings, but tyranny and oppression of every kind, must then cease.

Before I dismiss the subject, I would advise his Excellency to look *nearer home* for the cause of the meditated insurrection. What, I would ask him, was the cause of a similar attempt, a few years since, near the city of Richmond in Virginia, and also of a still later date, at Petersburg?—At the former place, so well had they matured their plot, and so completely had they organized their system of operations, that nothing but a seemingly miraculous intervention of the arm of Providence was supposed to have been capable of saving the city from pillage and the flames, & the inhabitants thereof from butchery.—So dreadful was the alarm, and so great the consternation produced upon that occasion, that a member of Congress from that State was sometime afterwards heard to express himself in his place as follows:—"The night bell is never heard to toll in the city of Richmond, but the anxious mother presses her infant more closely to her bosom."

It will be found, that notwithstanding "Servility long continued, debases the mind, and abstracts it from that energy of character which is fitted to great exploits," still, the combined efforts of such as are verging on the border of despair, and those instigated by motives of avarice, ambition, or revenge, may be productive of the most deplorable consequences; and it becomes a wise man to assist in taking measures to obviate them. This, as I have shewn, can only be completely effected by a general dissemination of the principles of Christianity, and a final eradication of the servile system.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter from a Female Friend in the State of New Jersey.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

After a long time of silence, I am free to express a few of my sentiments to thee, respecting the cause thou hast so manfully espoused; I mean the distressed condition of Africa's sable sons, so inhumanly treated in this boasted land of liberty. Freedom was its first institution, but how far it has deviated from this principle let the consciences of people tell them in the cool of the day.

It is a subject I can assure thee that lies near my heart, but which I have hitherto been backward in publicly espousing, considering the little that was in my power to do in it, would not be worth

the attention of my fellow citizens; and under these considerations I have until now, rested satisfied in refusing the use of the produce of their labours, and endeavoring as opportunities offered, to persuade those around me to do the same. But now I believe the day calls for renewed exertions in their cause; and as much as in us lies, to be instrumental in convincing their oppressors of their wrongs, and endeavoring to place them in a situation, capable of making a proper use of the blessing of *Freedom*. But alas! I fear it is but little I can do for them.

There are but few at present in this section of country; yet distance does not deprive us of the knowledge of their helpless and distressed condition, nor extinguish those sympathetic feelings, natural to arise on beholding the disconsolate condition of a fellow creature, pining under absolute oppression, held in that situation by those who profess the name of Jesus; I say profess, to believe in *His* doctrines who said "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" yea, and to love our enemies, much less treat in an unchristian manner those who never did us wrong. Our Saviour said, "his servants you are, to whom you yield your members instruments to obey." Here let us pause; and calmly consider how far our practice agrees with our profession. I say, we profess to be the servants of a God, of whom it is said He is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity without rebuke; is it not iniquity, to serve his enemy instead of Him? or, are you, any of you, prepared to say it is in obedience to His command, who was offered upon the cross at Calvary for the sins of the whole rational creation, for the sable sons of Africa, as well as those of every other nation, whether christians, barbarians, bond, or free, that you do this?—All have an equal right to participate in this sacrifice. How is it then that you who profess yourselves to be the disciples of a crucified Saviour, can treat in this manner those to whom God hath so eminently manifested his love? O be you entreated to forsake the wickedness of your ways; return and live, live to Him who died for you, and not to the gratification of your senses. O remember, he has declared himself a friend and never failing refuge for the oppressed; he hath told us in his sacred volume, the poor shall not always be despised;—nor the sighing of the needy be disregar-

ded; nay, the consoling language is in this wise: "for the cry of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise saith the Lord, and set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." O my Friend, how I could enlarge—my soul sympathises with them in their affliction. I am &c. L. S.

Benjamin Lundy.

Extract of a letter to the Editor, from a gentleman of high standing in South Carolina. Dated Nov. 21, 1822.

Sir, You will please forward your paper to the following gentlemen:—

* * * * *
A spirit somewhat similar to that existing in E. Ten. is beginning to operate in this section of the country. It will require stimuli to give it strength. This can be applied no way so well as through the press. I hope therefore that you will prosper in your work; and that you will continue to infuse as much energy in it as possible. The grand question is, how the emancipation shall be effected with safety to ourselves, and profit to the Negroes.

The following is from the New York *American*. If the work be faithfully executed, it will be a great desideratum.

A pamphlet is announced in the Charleston papers as about to be published in that city, exhibiting "in a condensed form, the history of the origin and progress of slavery in the southern and western states; to describe the true condition of the slave-class of our population, and to present, from scarce tracts and other valuable sources of information, a brief sketch of the difficulties we have met and surmounted in relation to this class, from the earliest settlement of the country to the present time."

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation,
IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.
NO. IX.

July, 1822.

DEAR SOPHY,

In the course of my late peregrinations, amongst several others, I have come to be acquainted with *Gripus*, an old disciple, (as he calls himself) and an established sentimental slave holder. *Gripus* has two very great objects in view, which he seems determined to accomplish at any rate, even if every other consider-

tion should be laid aside, namely: to be rich in the wealth of this world, and to enjoy the *beatitudes of heaven* when he dies. These two he considers as being the only things worthy of his attention. This gentleman has the advantage of many others, for he has a double portion of zeal, and though it is divided between two objects, which are opposite in their natures, yet he contrives, some how or other, to keep it in pretty lively operation. *Gripus* has *two witnesses* to prove his attachments, —his *tongue* declares that he *loves God*, and his *works* testify that he *loves the world*. He says that though Abraham was a *good man*, he was rich in gold, and in silver, and had servants born in his house, and bought with money; and that it is but right that he should be like him in these respects, —that if people would read the Old Testament more than they do, and examine the history of the Jews, and also notice many expressions of the Proverbs, and what is written in some other places, they would find that riches are in very high estimation in old times, among the Jews in particular, who were called God's people, and were a very religious nation. —This being the creed of *Gripus*, he leaves no means untried, that is not reputed scandalous, to gain all the wealth he can; and though he will not openly defraud any one of his own complexion, yet he does a great many hard things to others, which he would be very unwilling to have done to himself on a change of circumstances, —such as taking advantages of necessity, by selling his property to the needy at prices higher than the nominal value —the money must be paid down; —or if he credits at all, must have a note bearing interest from the day it is given: —If he agrees to take any kind of property in payment for any debt, it is sure to be something on which he can make some profit, by receiving it far below its usual selling price, and selling it out again at fifty or a hundred per cent. advance. *Gripus* wipes his mouth from criminality in these things, by pleading popular custom, which he has never seriously examined into, to see whether it was right or wrong, so that he has got to be completely confirmed in his creed of covetousness.

Every coloured human animal about him that is able to do any thing, has to be on the alert on common occasions, but in a more than ordinary hurry of busi-

ness, they are run both day and night, wet and dry, —living on the scanty allowance of a *peck of corn a week* to each working hand, or some other pittance of like magnitude, of the most unsavory kind, —frequently half naked, and often the few rags that do hang on them, have originally been made of the coarsest materials; and instead of having a sufficiency to screen them from the cold, have not enough to hide their nakedness; but females, grown to the years of puberty, have the parts exposed to public view, at which the slightest modesty should raise the crimson blush! —Ye mistresses and misses! all yclad from head to feet, and think yourselves secure; think, that the *charms* of female slaves, by your own fault expos'd to public view, as in a glass, you thus expose your own!!!

Whilst these half starved, half naked beings are driven to excess, the delicacies, and fineries, which are the sole earnings of the slaves, are consumed by the white family, who live in idleness and prodigality. When *Gripus* was expostulated with for the manner in which he treated his slaves, his answer was, that he thought there should always be kept up a wide distinction between superiors and inferiors, —that slaves were but a small grade above the brute creation, and that the coarsest food, if they had a sufficiency of it to support nature, was suitable enough for them; and as to clothing, if they got the roughest kind that could be made, it was generally the most durable; and was as good as could be afforded, and if not enough to keep them warm, let them warm themselves at work. As to his own children, he said that he wished to raise them genteely; in which case, it was necessary that they should be accustomed to high living, and splendid fashionable apparel, that they might feel their dignity, and a mien of superiority over, not slaves only, but over the whites who were in lower situations in life than himself; this he said would give them an air of importance, and qualify them to rank with the highest order of fashionable gentleman and ladies!

Notwithstanding his aspiring mind, and his hard heartedness to slaves, *Gripus* is very zealous in what he calls religion, or in the exercise of his devotional performances; and as he takes certain "*frames and feelings*" of mind for evidence of his having religion, he has recourse to every stratagem calculated to

excite them; and so by using various methods of incitement, he seldom fails in finding a combustible, qualified for kindling in his imagination that fanciful fire, with which he warms his devotions, and on which he rests his hopes of heaven. *Gripus* considers the injunctions, to do as we would be done by—to love our neighbour as ourselves,—to help the needy, &c. to belong to the “covenant of works,” or that they have some other meaning, than what is generally attached to them.—*Faith*, he says is all that is required in the gospel day, and as he knows he has religion, he knows that he has *faith*, and that is sufficient for him.

When *Gripus* reads such scriptures as these: lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth—it is impossible for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven—where your treasure is, there will your heart be also;—ye cannot serve God and mammon—they that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition—having food and raiment, therewith be content—thou shalt not oppress—break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free, with others to the like amount, he either passes over them without noticing their sacred import, or puts them out of his mind as quick as possible, as they are contrary to his plans and opinions. In all *Gripus*’s pretensions to religion, he has no notions of holiness, or bearing the fruits of moral rectitude—justice, mercy, & a faith that is productive of works of righteousness, which flow from a divine principle implanted in the soul by the operation of the holy spirit, but his sole object is happiness, in all his aspirations, both after the treasures of this world, and the glories of that which is to come.

Gripus is a perfect monopolist: for in all his anxieties for obtaining the happiness of heaven for himself, he has left his slaves quite out of the account, and has entirely withheld from them every means of obtaining spiritual instruction by reading the scriptures, as he has kept them from the knowledge of letters: so that for any thing that he has done for them, they may perish in their ignorance. And as it respects the happiness or pleasures of this world, at which he aims, he has not only deprived them of freedom—the opportunity of gaining spiritual knowledge by reading—the acquiring a

comfortable subsistence, and of free agency in every respect whatever, but has rendered them as poor, ignorant, and as miserable as human beings that are able to walk, can well be on earth; that he, and his family may riot in the pleasures of pomp and luxury through life in this world, and then, hope (without a foundation) to enjoy the pleasures of the celestial Paradise in the world to come!

Justice is an attribute of Jehovah; what conceptions men have of the deity, I cannot conjecture, who suppose that religion, and the smallest degree of wilful injustice can be reconciled together,—when there is not an attribute of the God-head that can sanction such a thought; or how they can believe that slavery is compatible with the purities of the Gospel holiness! That men should establish their happiness in this world on the unhappiness or misery of others, is certainly an act of injustice of the greatest magnitude, and yet, no doubt, it is in operation in many millions of cases; but when men who profess the christian religion act thus, and yet suppose they are justifiable in so doing, and that God will eternally happy them in heaven, because, in common with devils, they believe there is a God, and a mediator betwixt God and man, Christ Jesus, it proves to me that they believe in a God, void of justice and holiness, and altogether like themselves!

When men increase their worldly pleasures or happiness by extortion or grinding the faces of the poor, and thus render them less happy than they would have been in a scale of equity, it is an act of injustice evidently condemned by the law of heaven,—when they rob their fellow men of their heaven endowed rights of freedom, or withhold it from them when so robbed by others, and of consequence, a whole life time’s enjoyment of such a state; even if they treat them in a way that slave holders call good usage, it is a crime, or act of injustice of a much greater magnitude than others—This is their all; but to deprive them of the above rights, and then make them miserable all their days by hard labour and personal abuses, as it is the case with many thousands in our christian professing country is not only an act of injustice, but an outrage on humanity that beggars description! If slavery was practised by those only, who make no pretensions to religion, it might be ranked with other enor-

mities; at which many of the perpetrators are too much hardened to blush; yet lamentable to think, many men who are in the highest standing in the christian profession, to whom many others are looking up for example and precept, are not only practisers of that crying sin, but labour to justify the deed upon the principles of the just, righteous, and holy Gospel of the Redeemer! There are, no doubt, many pious and holy men and women among all denominations of professing christians, that are utterly opposed to slavery, as well as to every other act of injustice; how such can hold in christian fellowship, those who live on the gain of oppression, in ever so small a degree, I am at a loss to conceive; or how they can knowingly unite with such in those acts of christian communion, which are generally esteemed the most sacred, and not be chargeable with inconsistency, is beyond my reach of thought!

Would it not be well for the truly pious of all denominations, to lift up their united voice against the crimson coloured crime, and exert themselves to expel from the professing general church, the hydras which infest it?

There is a large family connexion of the *Gripus*; some of them are slave holders, and some are entirely opposed to the practice: some of them are great professors of religion amongst all denominations, and some make no profession of any religion at all; but however they may be divided in sentiment in other respects, they all appear to be united in using every exertion to gain as much as possible of the wealth of this world.

Those of them who have made a profession of religion, have, perhaps, done more injury to the christian character, than any other class of professors, by betraying the sacred cause of christianity to the insult of infidels through their attachments to mammon; as well as by spreading a contagious example before others, which never fails contaminating by its influence; for the lust of gain is a *pitfall* that leads to perdition, covered over with plausible legality, and into which many thousands of unwary beings have fallen! I am &c. IRENEUS.

IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

NO. X. August, 1822.

DEAR S.—The various scenes of human domination, and human subjection which surround me, have thrown my mind into

a kind of desultory reflecting on the inconsistencies of many, who blend religion with moral turpitude, & have reduced to a sort of system, an assemblage of virtues and vices, unknown to religion in its pristine purity, and which will be swept from its sacred altars, and buried in eternal oblivion, in its final restoration.

I have (through the medium of history) seen men, who were, by the laws of nature, and of nature's God, entitled to equal citizenship in the world with the rest of their species, for the want of physical strength to resist, quietly resigning their native freedom, their souls, bodies, wills, and every other attribute belonging to a rational creature; to the will and whole disposal of others of their own kind, who were in no respect superior to themselves; nor were entitled to any other dominion than what power, obtained by a violation of justice, had invested them with.—I have seen these victims of avarice and domination—these beings, who were created in the image of God, mutilated, and their bodies and limbs marked with a thousand wounds, which had been opened with the torturing whip of their common brothers, nor dare they complain, or say, wherefore do ye thus!—I have seen the blood stream from the deep incision till it met the ground, which drank in the purple fluid, and laid it up in her bosom, until that tremendous day when she shall reveal to her maker the blood of her mangled children, and disclose the dead, which have been long hid in her bowels!—I have seen men, who were made but a little lower than the angels, by being confined in the gloomy caverns of bondage, reduced in intellects, near to the level of the brute creation; and that mind, which in its formation was endowed by its divine architect with a capacity to range the fields of the boundless universe, & measure the revolving spheres; and from the stupendous works of nature, to furnish materials for exalting the devotion of an expanded soul to its Almighty Creator, withheld by tyrants from those heavenly aspirations!—I have seen man, usurping unwarrantable dominion over his compeer,—subjecting him and his offspring to endless vassalage and degradation!—The professed *Republican*—the professed *Christian*, laying aside the benignant spirit of the true republican, and the lamb-like disposition of the genuine christian, and assuming all the ferocity

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

of the ruthless Tiger, bred in the torrid regions of the burning Equator, preying upon the vitals of his own species, and virtually, drinking their blood, which flows in a thousand purple streams!

I have seen the yawing jaws of the murky dungeon of slavery in its ghastly form; and have heard the groans of the victims of avarice and captivity, from amongst the hoarse and hollow sounds of the gorgon voice of tyranny, whose notes discordant, peal on peal, dart terror to the trembling captive!

In the land of *America*—in the famed land of *Freedom*;—in the land of political *liberty*, and of the religion of the immaculate redeemer, almost universally professed in its most sublime degree, I have seen the galling chains of unconditional *slavery* around the necks of a million of the captive sons and daughters of injured Africa, fast riveted by the professed disciples of the holy Jesus, who with Tiger grip, hold firm their trembling prey; and yet, with impious paws, would handle holy things, and claim a title to the joys on high!—Contradiction most profound; and insult high, to every attribute of God!

Shall justice forever bleed in the land of professed freedom—shall *Tyranny* never cease in *republican America*?—Or shall the votaries of the religion of the spotless redeemer, never break the blood stained yoke which they have fastened round the neck of a captive brother?

Remember, ye that hold your own flesh and blood in bondage—ye, who are lavish of the toil and misery of your fellow mortals to add to your wealth and comforts in life; and who make merchandise of them and their offspring—remember, that Him whom ye pretend to serve, hath said: "*with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.*" These are the words of eternal truth, and if they should be literally accomplished on you or your offspring as a just reaction, your notes with respect to slavery, would then be sounded on a different string from what they are now! Realize by anticipation, ye votaries of absolute power, the solemn sentence of Him that cannot lie, and place yourselves, or your progeny, or both, in the situation in which you justify yourselves in holding others, and mark with precision the similarity of the varied sufferings and privations which you shall then endure, to those which you inflict on the sons and daughters of A-

frica, who by you and others, are held in degrading vassalage; and then, to be consistent, plead the cause of your oppressors, with the same energy, with which you plead your own, (if you can) and proclaim to all around you, that they are doing to you, as they would that you should do them! You revolt at the horrid idea, and flee affrighted from the stygian vortex; and in your minds, yield yourselves martyrs in the cause of *freedom*, rather than endure what you inflict upon thousands of your fellow men!—No ye slaveholding votaries of religion, and promulgators of its precepts! there is not one of you, perhaps, that would not choose strangling, rather than life, before you would change places with your own slaves! And yet you impose upon your brethren, that, which you had rather suffer death, than to endure yourselves!—is this doing as you would be done unto?—No Liberty—Freedom, is the heaven, endowed right of all; and there is not a rational being on earth but feels the *sacred title*, whether he enjoys it or not, for the knowledge of it is interwoven with his nature, and is coeval with his existence.

Freedom! thou gift of the skies—thou birthright of man! Thou exhilarating sound in the ears of the children of captivity;—more delightful than the dulcet music of the harp of *Orpheus*, or the melody of a thousand stringed instrument;—Like harts on the spicy mountains of Arabia, they leap in transports of pleasure, and exult with extacy at the dawning prospect of their new creation;—hailing with enthusiastic devotion, that heaven born inheritance, which had been lost from their birth!

From the gloomy dungeon and iron cage of bondage set free, they hasten to leave the pestiferous damps of the breath of despotism, to inhale the salubrious fragrance of *Liberty*, and drink of the pearly streams of social life, which flow in gentle rills along the verdant banks of *equality*, decorated with the evergreens and flowrets of *native contentment*!—Such are the charms of *freedom* to mortal man.

O ye sons and daughters of the sires of American Independence! to many of them, freedom was the price of blood—nay, to you it is derived through the blood of your predecessors,—they yielded their lives to purchase *liberty* for their offspring!—and will you revel on the sacred boon, and lavish misery and bondage

Fiat Jutitia Ruat Cælum.

on others, who are as fully entitled by nature to freedom, as yourselves, and thus forfeit your title to that, for which your predecessors paid so dear!

Impart to each his due, and thus avert the impending storm, which, I fear, is gathering in thick columns, to burst in heavy vengeance upon our greatly enlightened, and hitherto highly favoured nation!!!

These have been some of the ruminations of my mind on the subjects which have attracted my attention, and which have exercised the thoughts of an absent brother.

IRENEUS.

ADDRESS

Of the PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION to the Members of the Bethesda Branch of the Manumission Society.

FELLOW LABOURERS, IN THE CAUSE OF SUFFERING HUMANITY:—

I hereby take the liberty to address you, in your collective capacity, & having a desire for the advancement of the great cause of justice, I think it a duty incumbent on me, to endeavor to stir up, and encourage you to a steady perseverance in the benevolent work you have embarked in, I trust as human agents, which is nothing less than pleading the cause, and equal right of the poor injured, and oppressed descendants of Africa, that are in our land; and when you in that case shall have done all in your power, you will have only fulfilled the golden rule of doing as you would wish to be done to, if you were in a similar condition; for they, in their present situation, (though said to be under a free republican government,) cannot plead their own cause, because they are bound down, dumb, or gagged as it were in a state of slavery; to which they were reduced by stratagem, fraud and force, by avaricious despots, who hold them & their offspring in cruel & perpetual bondage; and many, (or all) who are thus detaining these victims of human depravity in wretched servitude, against light and knowledge, knowing it to be wrong, and an atrocious sin, yet will persist in it to their last breath, and then leave or bequeath those helpless captives by will or otherwise, to their heirs (or offspring) to drag out, if possible, another lifetime of degradation and contempt, in the service of the young tyrants, and enemies of their soul's peace. I desire each of you who are members of the man-

umission society, to be encouraged and plead the cause of the African race, boldly & prudently, inviting your surrounding neighbors, to join you in promoting the benevolent work that you have embarked in. From the flattering change that appears to be made in the public mind, (I believe through the instrumentality of the Manumission Society,) there is cause of great encouragement for us individually to press forward with firmness—though it is very sorrowful that there are so many people and some of them members of the several religious societies, divers of whom hold high and eminent stations therein, and all of them acknowledge slavery to be an evil, a gross sin, of the deepest die; yet many of them will not so much as move one of their fingers to promote the work of emancipation.—But instead thereof, discourage and hinder the progress of it by frequently stating the evil consequences that (as they say) will attend the people if they were to do right, and set the Africans free.—Thereby (as above) discouraging many from moving forward in this the best of causes with the proper energy.—They also hinder many people from joining with us, that otherwise would have been advocates of humanity; and what is more lamentable, though true, many of the members of this humane institution, which you have enlisted in, have been drawn off & discouraged from their benevolent intentions, by the delusive notions of the above class of religious professing bigots, who with a seeming sympathetic tone, and no doubt, but some of them with avarice at their heart, will persuade them that if they continue to advocate the rights of suffering humanity, it probably may cost them a small pittance annually, and they will likely offend some sentimental slaveholders and their accomplices; and worst of all they will be in danger of losing their hold of religion; notwithstanding the cause is just, it will be better to let the negroes continue in slavery, and the people in the evil of it than for them to meddle with it now.—Or in words to this effect.—My opinion is, that the class of professing zealots here alluded to, are the greatest & best instruments that the old demon of oppression has in our country to perpetuate slavery. We read in the scripture of truth, of a war against a class of human beings, who were charged of not entering into the kingdom of heaven

Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

themselves, nor would they suffer those who were willing to enter in.—I, for one, think there are many men at this time in our land, who will not do good themselves, and would fain hinder such as are willing from doing so, especially when the benevolent act of pleading the cause of Afric's sable sons and daughters that are among us, comes into question. I think this grade of professors of our day, are nearly like those of old times, and without a change may meet a similar wo. I earnestly entreat each of you not to come within this class by example, for I conceive them to be the strongest and worst opposers in the land to Emancipation.—In Luke, 10th chapter, we read of a man that fell among thieves, who stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, leaving him helpless; there passed by him a priest, then a Levite; these were men in high stations in society too; they took no care of him.—There came after them a Samaritan, who had compassion on him, bound up his wounds, poured in oil and wine, set him on his own beast, took care of him, and finally was imputed to be a neighbor to him,—please read the text, there are very many of the same like spirited people in our land, at this day, as the said Priest and Levite were, and some of whom are high professors of religion.—They will and do pass by the negroes who are helpless, and robbed of all the right they were endowed with by their creator, besides their raiment. Again I entreat each of you not to come in with this priest like class of human beings, by example—for we are all endowed with more or less influence, and are accountable for it, to the author of our existence. Now, as you, I trust, from pure motives have enlisted to help to promote and bring about one of the best of causes, let none delude, persuade, nor in any way discourage any of you from persevering in promoting the great object of justice, with christian candour and fortitude, and then you would be continually willing to do as you would wish to be done by, if you were in the situation of the descendants of Africa that are among us. Consider the republican form of our government, that this great evil, slavery, can be removed from our country only by the people; our grand object is to gain the mind of the people; let each one of us use his influence with his neighbors, and others, as far as practicable by mild, candid, firm and abso-

lute reasoning, in order to convince them of the injustice of continuing the sin of oppression in our land of boasted liberty and equal rights.

It is with the people yet, to set the slaves free, or not. It will be ill with us if we hold to them till freed by judgment. We have, I think, great encouragement to pursue the plan heretofore adopted, for, from the report of the committee on our petitions in the last Assembly, it is by far the best and most favorable report that ever was made in our State Legislature on the subject. But that body cannot, with propriety, do much more without the consent of the people. A few days since, I was informed by letter from our representative, (John Rhea) in Congress, that, the memorial of our last convention, had come before that body, which was taken notice of, and referred to a committee to report thereon; it was not then known what would be the report.

I wish us all to be stimulated to use more industry than heretofore made, in procuring signers to the petitions praying for the gradual abolition of slavery, in order to lay before our State Legislature.—Encourage one another to strictly attend your meetings, and invite all your moral neighbors, as far as practicable, to meet with you. We would by such measures, likely draw in many more members. I have strong desires for the growth and advancement of the Manumission Society;—in its cause of justice, I again warmly solicit each of you as fellow labourers to persevere with firmness and gentle entreaties with your neighbors and others—move on in the great work with patience, accompanied with christian fortitude. I repeat it again, be patient, though press forward with boldness, for the cause is just. Be firm, candid, and flinch not; but let each of us who have enrolled our names in this the best of causes, by our example, as far as practicable, convince the world that we are real advocates of justice.—Be industrious and fear not, but endeavor to gain your neighbors, and others over to you, by solid, candid, though gentle entreaties; if we do not catch them on the first or second trial we may the third, and be ready when convinced to take their names to the petition above alluded to. I desire that each of us may guard against an impatient disposition; guard too against frequent changes, or

getting zealous, or being carried off with wild, enthusiastic notions of carrying on wars. There have two branches of this society fallen off by an impatient zeal in small matters, wishing changes inconsistent with the real principle of the institution. I think it is as hard and as dangerous a death to die with a wild, impatient, fanatic idea, as to get into a state of lukewarmness and die with indolence and indifference. The proper business of the Manumission Society, & each of its members, is, to use the wisest measures to get signers to the petitions, praying for the gradual abolition of slavery.—Attend zealously to this, for by this means the minds of the people are to be presented before our state legislature. Bear in mind, under the existing interest and prejudices of the community in general, the abolition of slavery is not the work of a day, or a year—no, perhaps of a life time.—“But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing.” You my fellow laborers be true and firm to your cause, and look not back, for there is no encouragement for those who put their hand to the plough and look back. Be not too timid, but each of you according to your capacity boldly plead the cause of the oppressed Africans that are in our land; and I earnestly intreat each of you my friends in the cause of injured humanity, that you particularly attend to the object of your humane institution, and not in the least, neglect it, or to aid or assist any other benevolent Institution—but wish success to them all, for there is danger of dwindling away by mixing as experience has fully proved, in several sections of the Union. I do highly recommend to you the practice of the members frequently corresponding with each other on the subject of the institution by way of letter, much good would no doubt, arise from it. In future elections for voting for members of Congress and our state legislature, and for governor, endeavour to give each your suffrage to men who are at least, friendly to a gradual emancipation; for sentimental slaveholders, or despots, are dangerous rulers, in my opinion, and ought to be strictly guarded against. Endeavor to be instrumental in setting up new branches of the society in the adjacent neighborhoods.

From your friend and well wisher in the cause of suffering humanity, &c.

JAMES JONES.

At a constitutional meeting of the Bethsada branch of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, on the 11th May 1822, the foregoing Address from the President of the Convention was read, and heard with pleasure by the members. From a sense of the justness of the cause therein pleaded, and the seasonableness of the encouragements, and well timed warnings against going to extremes, the dangerous rock upon which hundreds have split, the thanks of the meeting was unanimously voted to the President for said address. It is considered that it not only breathes the spirit of the philanthropist, but also of the Christian, which are seldom, probably never separate from the mind of him who is possessed of the fine and tender feelings of sympathy for the woes and miseries of his fellow creatures.

On motion, it was also unanimously resolved, that the address, together with the vote of thanks, as aforesaid, be sent to the editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, with a request that the same may be published in his paper.

By order of the Meeting.

DAVID KERR, Pres't.

GEORGE WELLS, Clerk.

HAYTI.

Accounts from Hayti inform us that something of a disturbance lately occurred at *Port au Prince*. It appears that a person of the name of *Darfour*, who, it was supposed was one of the partizans adhering to the system introduced by *Christophe*, presented a paper, in the form of a petition to the Chamber of Representatives, which produced a high degree of irritation among the people, inasmuch that he, as well as several of his accomplices, were immediately arrested. Subsequently, we also learn that they were put upon trial, the first condemned to be executed, and the others banished. Some of our patriotic republican advocates of slavery have taken hold of this circumstance, and have undertaken to prove from it that the government of Hayti is of the most despotic kind. They are extremely anxious to establish the opinion that black people are inferior to the whites, in order that they may trample upon their rights with impunity. But altho' in the case before us, the people of Hayti may have acted too precipitately, numerous instances may be cited which will show that a

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

like summary mode of proceeding is deemed justifiable by many in our own country, when people of color are found guilty of *planning* or executing offences of a criminal nature. Of course the reasoning of these gentry will go no further than to prove that the principles of free government are not yet *completely* understood by the Haytians, and that they, themselves, are extremely prejudiced against them. But mangre all the slang of these would be wise ones, Hayti is destined to become a powerful nation. The principles of liberty will soon be as well understood there as here. And perhaps it will yet be a second *Canaan* for the oppressed of this *land of Freedom*.

The following extract from an Oration delivered at the last anniversary of the declaration of independence of the United States, gives an interesting view of the Haytian people, and is well worthy of an attentive perusal.

Extract from an oration, delivered on the 4th of July, 1822, by O. L. Holly Esq.

"I cannot omit to mention the independent republic of Hayti. In the island of St. Domingo, my fellow citizens, a political phenomenon has been exhibited, unexampled in the annals of human society. The descendants and survivors of those unhappy creatures, who were compelled by fraud and violence, to pass from the liberty of innocent, though unenlightened and barren barbarism, through the horrors of the Middle Passage, to galling and uncompensated bondage, have been enabled, by God's good providence, to throw off their fetters, and rise from the ignominy of their thralldom, to the dignity and hopes of personal freedom and political independence.

* * * * * If considered without prejudice, no revolution furnishes so much matter to arrest attention, and compel men to pause and ponder, as that of St. Domingo; and by none has the vigor of human nature—paradoxical as it may sound—been so strikingly exemplified. Ignorant, and consequently degraded, as the majority of slaves in that island were; without any aid from experience, and destitute of the multiplied resources of a cultivated state of society; but writhing under cruelty, and dimly discerning the reason why they might lawfully rise against oppression; by the mere force of simple but energetic human nature, they threw off the incum-

bent load of servitude; they started from bondage, and standing elate upon the high places of freedom, they shook their broken chains, astonished at themselves, and filling the world with wonder. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of their condition, and the obstacles thrown in their way by the jealous pride of other nations, they have confirmed their sovereignty. They have cultivated successfully the arts of peace, as well as of war; commerce has prospered with them; and they have already done much towards providing for their own education and moral advancement. Their early annals will transmit to posterity, the names of some men, of as energetic genius, constancy, and hardihood, as have aided in the original establishment of any nation whatever; and the name of *one* shall be perpetuated, in whom the old heroic character was at least as beautifully exemplified, as in any of his cotemporaries: The Spartan Leonidas displayed not a more unhesitating valor—the Roman Regulus bore not a soul of loftier honor. French duplicity betrayed him into prison and meanly left him to an inglorious death; but the people whom he delivered, with the generous every where, will cherish his memory, and the green hills of St. Domingo will ring forever with the praises of Touissant L'Overture."

The following is now in circulation for signatures. It shews that some are willing to act upon the principles of justice.

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF OHIO:

The Petition of the undersigned, Citizens of Ohio, respectfully sheweth—

That your petitioners humbly conceive slavery not only repugnant to justice and sound policy, but a flagrant violation of Christianity; one of the greatest moral and national evils that ever did or ever can prevail among intellectual beings: a source of the most unfeeling oppression, the most absolute tyranny, and the most abject degradation and misery, that ever subverted the privileges of men. Your petitioners moreover believe it to be an unquestionable truth; that the primary object of all government or laws is, to protect the meritorious, to administer justice equally to all, to the rich, to the poor, and to the stranger who may sojourn in the land. But denying black and mulatto

Piet Justitia Huat Caelum.

persons' testimony against fraud and kidnapping, is opening a wide door for the introduction of these nefarious practices, by presenting to the giddy and avaricious the alluring prospect of gain, almost without the hazard of detection by law. Thus, while we proclaim to the world our abhorrence of slavery, and preach down its *naked* deformity, we are withholding our protection from free persons of colour, not for any crime of theirs, but because found "guilty of a skin not coloured like our own." Your petitioners rejoice that a number of the states of this rising republic, have already granted this object of our solicitude; and, instead of realizing evils to themselves, have conferred invaluable privileges upon this long and much degraded race. But we are constrained deeply to regret that our beloved state remains on the back ground relative to the interesting, humane, and Christian duty of boldly sustaining the cause of injured humanity, and the rights of man. Your petitioners therefore feel themselves bound in the spirit of philanthropy, most earnestly, but respectfully, to call upon you for the repeal of the fourth section of the act amendatory of the act regulating black and mulatto persons, by which it is enacted, "that no black or mulatto person shall hereafter be permitted to be sworn, or give evidence in any court of record, or elsewhere, in this state, in any case depending, or matter of controversy, where either party to the same is a white person, or in any prosecution which shall be instituted in behalf of the state against any white person."

SLAVERY.

In a debate in the English House of Commons on the 25th of July, on the subject of the Slave Trade at the Cape of Good Hope, Mr. Wilberforce begged the attention of the House to an extraordinary circumstance. Would it be believed, (said the hon. gentleman,) that while his country labored so much to propagate the doctrine of Christianity, there were men who had been born Britons, & who boasted of their birth, who took pains to educate their slaves in the principles of Mahometanism? Yet there were colonists who did so, and they assigned in their justification the most extraordinary reasons, that the slaves, being by the principles of Moslemism prevented from drinking wine, would become thorough-

ly sober in their habits; and also that the want of Christian marriages would enable them to separate the father from the mother of his children without any injury to their religious principles. He assured the house that the most odious practice was carried on in some of the colonies. He hoped that means would be taken to prevent it in future. It had been said that Hottentots had always been incapable of civilization; but the house could not but be aware that man, once stamped with the signet of a beneficent Creator, was always capable of feeling. Mean as the Hottentots had been accounted, even as the meanest of the human race, Mr. Barrow, in his intelligent work on the Cape of Good Hope, had given proofs of their capability of feeling as men. Sir, J. Craig, too had, in defiance of prejudices and sarcasm, proved that they could be rendered good members of society, and had formed some of them into a regiment.

Mr. W. Smith, also regretted that the Hottentots had been in effect reduced to the condition of slaves by the artifice of those who employed them; these farmers supplied them with necessaries and other articles, until they got them into their debt, and then brought them before a magistrate, when having sworn to the debt (no doubt exorbitant) the unhappy Hottentot being in most cases unable to pay, was handed over to this master, to work himself out of debt, which in effect condemned him to slavery, although no more a slave than any member of that house, and placed his liberty in the hands of an arbitrary and rapacious master.—He (Mr. S.) had the highest respect for the right of property in all cases except one, namely—an unqualified property existing in one privileged individual, to the labour and person of his fellow creature.

The Slave Trade.—What with the pirates, and what with the slave trade, the island of Cuba seems to be in a very hopeful & thriving way. The "Constitutional Diary," published at Havanna on the 13th of September, informs us, that the French Schooner, Maria, Capt. N. Huyot, of seventy-five tons, direct from Africa, had arrived at that port with one hundred and seventy-six negroes of both sexes. The Captain stated, that he was bound for Martinique, but constrained to put into Havanna, in consequence of

his having been chased out of his proper route by an insurgent privateer.

We are constantly talking about the execrable cruelties of the Turks, their butcheries of Christians, and their atrocities in sending men, women and children into slavery. We feel indignant at the conduct of those European powers who have abandoned the unfortunate Greeks to their fate. Yet how little do we seem to care for those sons of Africa, who are wantonly stript of their natural rights, flogged, and sold in open day, like brute beasts; not because they have done any thing to justify this barbarous treatment, but because the cunning and avarice of white men have made them a prey to their cupidity.—The followers of the prophet have something like the shadow of a plea, in their religious prejudices, for the cruelties which they exercise. But the Christian dealer in human flesh has nothing to urge in his behalf but his unbounded thirst for gold, which he is willing to obtain at the sacrifice of every correct principle, and of every noble feeling of humanity.

With regard to the island of Cuba, we should say, that the existence of such a den of pirates and slave drivers is a disgrace, if not an insult to every civilized government; and if the European powers are so insensible to their own interests as to wink at the practices carried on there, no good reason can be assigned why prompt and effectual measures should not be taken by our government to exterminate the common enemies of mankind. It has been seen that notwithstanding the captures made by our ships of war, these freebooters are as numerous and as daring as ever, and so completely do they swarm on the coasts of Cuba, that it is not safe for any of our trading vessels to show themselves on those seas. Nothing we apprehend, will remedy the mischief but the occupation of the island by a body of troops sufficiently strong to annihilate the robbers.—The government of Cuba is either unable or unwilling to take steps to accomplish this.—Spain, therefore, could not find fault with us for rooting up what she acknowledges to be an evil that she cannot cure. The moment the business was effected, our troops could be withdrawn.—*N. York Com. Adv.*

[A tragical scene will ere long be witnessed in the West Indies.—The cup of iniquity is nearly full.]

MUSES' BOWER,

And Miscellaneous Department.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-men as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

The following is copied from the *American Friend*, a valuable paper published in Marietta Ohio.—The author is said to be quite a youth.

SLAVERY.

Shall man forever prove the scourge of man?

And thus subvert the Great Creator's plan?

Who, when he first bade nature spring from night,

Cloth'd yon bright sun in robes of dazzling light,

Balanc'd the earth upon his firm decree,
Bade all be equal, all alike be free.

Then why despise the tincture of the skin,
Since all mankind are formed alike within;

One general life pervades each human frame,

All passions similar, all souls the same;

The darkest tenant of Angola's plains,
Feels the same current beating in his veins,

As that which warms the fairest forms that shine,

Where beauty, wealth and honour, all combine:

The same affections warm his heart no less,

The same joys heighten, the same fears depress.

Yet cruel man so impotent, but vain,
Binds his own fellow in oppression's chain.

'Tis cruel sure the limbs in chains to bind—

More cruel still, to chain the human mind.

Ye southern rulers drop the afflicting rod,

Nor longer tempt the vengeance of a God:

For while you sport on science' lucid wave,

You hold instruction from the humble slave.

For you, fair freedom leathes her sacred name,

For you, Columbia mourns her tarnish'd fame.

Poor Julia! Poor Helen.

Shall her fair banners o'er oppression
wave?
Can freedom's pinions fan the toiling
slave?
Confusion strange, to grasp in the same
had,
The blood-stained scourge, the peace-
ful olive wand.
Hail Marietta, thou my native town!
I'll sing thy praise for Freedom here is
known:
No petty tyrants tread thy peaceful
streets,
No mourning slave the passing stranger
meets.
Bless'd be thy name while fair Ohio's
waves,
Shall part thy borders from the land of
slaves;
May well fraught barges ever line thy
shores
And smiling plenty rest within thy
doors.

ICILIUS.

* The poet had not, probably, an idea at the time he penned the foregoing, that the flag of the United States had ever been displayed amidst a gang of chained and pinioned slaves; yet such is the fact. (See *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, page 39.)—It would seem that the wretches who make it a business to trade in slaves among us are trying how far they can go towards scandalizing our government. Were I disposed to encourage any thing of a military character, I should consider this a shame and a foul dishonor to the flag of my country. Such writers are ipso facto, a scandal and a disgrace to a nation of barbarians. I do not believe there is a republican among them; and if ever mortal man did, they richly merit the halter.

Ed. Gen. Univer. Eman.

SO IT GOES.

CUMBERLAND, MD. OCT. 27.

Mr. William Polling, of this county, was shot on Sunday night last, about seven or eight miles from this place, by a negro man belonging to a Mr. Stewart, of Virginia. *The wife and children of the negro we understand had been sold by their master*, and Mr. Milbourn, of this place, accompanied by Mr. Polling, was going to the house for the purpose of bringing them away. The negro fellow awaited their approach, and on perceiving them, immediately lodged the contents of a musket in the side of the

unfortunate Polling, who survived but a few hours.

The murderer has been committed to the jail of Romney, in Virginia, to await his trial.

Query. Do we not arm ourselves, and fight and kill, when foreign nations or domestic banditti assault us, and attempt to rob or to enslave us or our wives and children?—*Christian Mirror.*

Ans. Too many *professed Christians* are continually setting such examples:—and it is likely that the poor wretch above mentioned was neither acquainted with law nor gospel. But *Christ* taught his *Disciples* to act very differently.—G. U. Em.

From the Sierre Leone Gazette.

SCHOOLS IN AFRICA.

Being well aware of the interest that the friends of Africa, take in matters connected with the civilization and moral improvement of the country, we give the following account of the schools.

In the school at Cape Coast there are seventy-five boys, more than thirty of these can both read and write.

On the 1st inst. a school was opened at Abonnabine, thirty-three scholars were admitted, and many more have since sought to participate in the same benefit.

The school at Accra is in a prosperous state under the care of Mr. Cotton; there are now fifty-two boys, and several of them are far advanced in grammar, arithmetic and writing.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the *Friends of Humanity* in Illinois, are again unavoidably postponed. They will yet be inserted.

Some remarks on the progress of the work of philanthropy in France, are also necessarily deferred.

"*HUMANITAS, NO. I.*"—(*New Series*;) came too late for this paper.—It shall not be long withheld from the public.

An excellent effusion in blank verse, from the same pen, will grace the *Muses' Bower*, when it is next fitted up for the reception of visitors.

The "*Modern Listener*," and "*A Friend to Humanity*," are laid off for insertion.

Several other communications are under consideration, some of which may be expected soon.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." — *Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 7. Vol. II.

FIRST MONTH, 1833.

WHOLE No. 19.

UNITED STATES' INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

"Hail Columbia, Happy Land!"

TO THE SOUTH-WESTERN.

A GLORIOUS SPECTACLE!!



"SHALL THY FAIR BANNERS O'ER OPPRESSION WAVE?"

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

The above is a faint picture of the detestable traffic in human flesh, carried on by citizens of this Republic in the open face of day, and in violation of the fundamental principles of our government, the maxims and precepts of Christianity, and the eternal rules of justice and equity. LOOK AT IT, again and again, and then say whether you will permit so disgraceful, so inhuman, and so wicked a practice to continue in our country, which has been emphatically termed THE BONE OF THE FREE.—*"Malum nascens facile opprimitur, inveteratum fit robustius."*

A gang was lately paraded with the U. S. flag. (See G. U. Eman.—vol. 2. p. 59.)

PLAN FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

[It is considered expedient to re-publish the following, as many who patronize this work at present, have never had an opportunity of seeing it.]

For the purpose of effecting a gradual Abolition of Slavery in the United States, I would propose—

First, That the General government totally prohibit it in the districts over which Congress possesses the exclusive controul, to prevent its spreading over a greater extent of country, and consequently increasing in magnitude: and for the purpose of guarding more effectually against its extension, let a positive injunction be issued against the admission of any new state into the Union, hereafter, without an express provision against slavery in its Constitution.

Secondly—To prevent smuggling slaves into the country from abroad, to put a stop to the domestic or internal "slave trade," and also to prevent the atrocious crime of kidnapping free negroes, &c. let the transportation of them

from one state to another be prohibited under the severest penalties, in all cases except the actual removal of their owners for the purpose of settlement.

Thirdly—Let the free states all agree to receive free coloured persons upon the footing of aliens, without imposing any other restraints than white persons of that description are subject to.

Fourthly—Let all the blacks that may be willing to go to Havti, or elsewhere, be sent out at the public expense, or rather the joint expense of the several and state governments, societies, &c. &c.

Fifthly—Let the slaveholding states make simultaneous arrangements for a gradual though *certain* Emancipation of their slaves; and let them repeal their laws which were enacted for the purpose of forcing the free coloured people away, and place them upon a par with the same class of persons in the free states.

Sixthly—Let the regulation relative to slave representation, be immediately done away.

Seventhly, and lastly.—In order to unite the people of every part of the country in the benevolent and patriotic work, let one or more delegates be appointed in each state, to meet in convention annually, for the express purpose of collecting information, and settling the details of a regular system of operations; whose duty it shall be, to report their proceedings to the legislatures of their respective states.

The foregoing are the principal points to which I wish to draw the reader's attention; but for the purpose of explaining the subject so that it may be easily comprehended, I will give a more minute, tho concise statement, under the different heads, or propositions, of the measures which I consider it necessary to adopt, together with a few reasons therefor.

Proposition 1st. It may be laid down as an incontrovertible axiom, that a further extension of the system of slavery over the territory of the United States, will inevitably tend to increase the magnitude of the evil, and augment the difficulties already existing in the promotion of the work of emancipation. Experience abundantly testifies that while there is a market for slaves in the country, it will be a hard matter to curb the avaricious dis-

position of our citizens so as to dissuade them from attempting to turn it to their pecuniary advantage. The love of gold so generally predominates in the human breast, that it too frequently stifles the voice of reason and justice, and destroys the embryo blossoms of humanity and benevolence: hence it may be calculated with certainty, that while the prospect of gain holds out its tempting lures, the exertions of the humane will be unavailing. Neither the moral force of precepts and examples; nor the enactment of penal laws, will have their proper effect while the "breeding" of slaves is considered lucrative: but cut-off the facility of acquiring wealth by that means, and there will then be no incentive to continue the practice. For proof of the correctness of these remarks, the reader may be referred to the present condition of the African slave trade. Notwithstanding several of the most powerful maritime nations in the civilized world have issued their prohibitory decrees, and endeavored to put a stop to this odious traffic by enforcing the most positive penal sanctions; notwithstanding it has been declared piracy by the United States government, and those of our citizens who are detected in it are punished accordingly, still, we have scarcely an arrival from Europe or Africa that does not furnish some additional intelligence relative to its continuance, and the increase of its horrors. It is a lamentable fact, that thousands of human beings are annually stolen and transported from Africa to the American continent, and islands, and sold as slaves; and while there is a market open for them, there is little hope that the abominable business will be discontinued: but it would be at an end the moment the demand for them should cease.

These appear to me as self-evident truths, which it may be presumed that none will pretend to deny; and they will hold equally as good when applied to the internal system of slavery in our country, as to the foreign traffic. The states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, prohibit the sale of slaves within their respective limits; but who can doubt that if a market was open in this extensive region, the price of them would be greatly enhanced in Maryland and Virginia on that account? and it is certain that in consequence of this, there would not only be a much greater inducement to

smuggle them into the country from abroad, but many who might have been previously disposed to emancipate, would then be tempted to sell, and, instead of diminishing, the evil would necessarily continue to increase.

It will be readily granted, the effects of such a state of things must be the same in other parts of the Union, where the labor of slaves is in demand; hence the propriety of guarding effectually against its extension: and provided a positive and irrevocable decree should be issued, declaring that hereafter no new state shall be admitted into the Union without an express provision in its Constitution against slavery, much good would doubtless result therefrom, as it would do away the necessity of discussing the odious question whenever application should be made for the admission of new states, and would further, have a moral effect which would be both salutary in its nature, and extensive in its operations.

Proposition 2d.—In those sections of the country where sugar and cotton cannot be raised to advantage, there would be but little inducement to employ the labor of slaves, provided, the breeding of them for the purpose of sale, should not be considered an object worthy of attention. It is notorious that in those districts of Maryland, Virginia, &c. &c. where the slaves are comparatively few in number, the country improves much more rapidly, and the people accumulate wealth with greater facility than where the labor is chiefly performed by slaves; and it is in these parts of the country where slave labor is the least profitable; that the abominable practice of kidnapping and purchasing of negroes for the purpose of carrying on the internal *slave trade*, is most generally known. This scandalous and outrageous business which has no parallel in the black catalogue of human crimes, save and except that of the foreign "slave trade," with its attendant barbarities, is so aggravating in its nature, so demoralizing in its tendency, and so cruel and unjust in its operations, that it is doubtful whether any government can long exist that is weak or wicked enough to tolerate it. The corruption of morals, and the dissolution of republican principles will invariably follow in its train; and the effect which such systematic villainy must

have upon the minds of the American people, cannot be otherwise than deplorable.—It is calculated to blight the hopeful buds of humanity and benevolence, and to destroy each tender germ of patriotism. If the government of the U. S. is not empowered to put a stop to this detestable traffic, the different State Legislatures should pass laws for that purpose, *a transgression of which should be characterized as an offence partaking of the highest grade of criminality*, and the penalties attached to it, should correspond with the nature of the crime.

Proposition 3rd. In order to assist the southern people in carrying on the work of emancipation, let the free states open their doors for the reception of free coloured people upon the same terms that foreigners are admitted into the United States;—Or, otherwise, let a proper system of regulations relative to naturalization, pauperism, &c. be adopted expressly for the purpose of guaranteeing the rights and privileges which it may be expedient to grant them. Such limitations and restrictions as may comport with the welfare of all should be defined by law, and a due regard should be paid to the improvement of their minds, to qualify them for citizenship. This, indeed, is a prime object, which should be kept constantly in view—without it, the hopes of the philanthropist can never be realized, neither will his labors be of any avail.

All such as choose to remove to the free States, should have the privilege of locomotion, be protected in person and property, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights and immunities of citizens, except the elective franchise.—As to the latter, justice would demand that they should have it as soon as expediency would permit; but it might be impolitic to grant it to them immediately, as some time must necessarily be allowed for them to acquire a knowledge of the art of exercising it properly. It is true it is a "right" which ought to belong to every free American, but some exceptions must be made to the general rule when the degraded condition of the southern blacks is considered; and I would forbear to urge a too hasty recognition of it, as respects them, satisfied for a while, on seeing them placed in a situation where oppression ceases.

By some it will be argued that the

people of the free states are clear of the charge of enslaving the negroes, and may with propriety refuse to take upon themselves any of the inconveniences attendant on their liberation. *But this is a grand mistake.* THE STATES OF THIS UNION ARE ALL GUILTY OF A PARTICIPATION IN THE CRIME. As far, at least, as the conduct of individuals can involve them. Those to the north as well as to the south, have performed their part in the great drama of iniquity. Their ships, their men, their capital has been employed in the detestable business; and if they have now a less number of those unfortunate beings in bondage amongst them than their Southern brethren, they are, generally speaking, more indebted to the climate and other natural causes, than to their morality or superior virtue, for their present enviable condition. And further, they guarantee to the holders of slaves the privilege of oppressing, and receive their reward in the profits arising from the trade carried on in the produce of slave labor. As a proof of this I will merely observe, that in case of an insurrection amongst the slaves, the people of the free States have bound themselves, by the U. S. Constitution, to assist in quelling it; and as they are the principal carriers of the articles which constitute the southern trade, especially the exports, they thus receive a remuneration for protecting the slave holder in the exercise of his authority over the slave. This being the case, it appears evident, that every citizen of the United States, without distinction or exception, is in duty bound to contribute his mite to facilitate the work of emancipation, and that none ought to plead exemption until they have witnessed its consummation.

Proposition 4th. For the same reasons, that it would be necessary to admit the free people of colour into the free States, it would also be politic to send as many as possible to the Republic of Hayti, and other places beyond the limits of the U. States.

Should Congress & the State Legislatures make a few liberal appropriations for this purpose, its beneficial effects would soon be visible: and should some rich and wealthy individuals also set about the work in good earnest, thousands would soon be released from a state of degradation, and permitted to

assume their wonted dignity.

A portion of the blacks might be colonized in some remote part of the territory of the U. States. These might be taken from the western part of Virginia, and from Kentucky and Tennessee. Some might also be sent to Africa. If a colony should be established there under proper regulations, they might furnish facilities to the powers of America and Europe in crippling the Slave Trade. But nothing of very great importance could be expected to result from this, for I repeat it as my decided opinion, that IT WILL BE UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE TO PUT A STOP TO THE FOREIGN TRAFFIC IN SLAVES, WHILE A MARKET CONTINUES OPEN FOR THEM ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT & ISLANDS.

That many of the people of the slave States would gladly embrace the opportunity of ridding themselves of the inconveniences and the horrors of Slavery, there cannot be a shadow of doubt. If such measures were adopted, for that purpose, as would meet their ideas, they would be left without a plea for its continuance, and a great portion of them would unquestionably exert themselves to do it away. Yet it would be politic in the people of the free States to require something like a pledge on the part of those holding slaves, to insure their compliance with such regulations as are mentioned in the fifth proposition.— In attempting to carry the proper measures into effect, some, no doubt, would hold back, and endeavor to throw obstacles in the way of emancipation. *But these would quickly lose their influence.* The advocates of freedom in their own States would probably out-number them, when the subject should be fairly understood and duly considered.

Proposition 5th. Few are willing to take upon themselves any degree of inconvenience, unless they are morally certain that it may answer a good purpose in the end: therefore, in order to ensure the co-operation of the people in the free States, whenever the measures recommended in the third and fourth propositions may be adopted, the slaveholding States should officially declare, through the medium of their legislative assemblies, their willingness to liberate their slaves, and enter into solemn positive engagements to use their ex-

actions to that effect. They should immediately repeal their laws tending to reduce to bondage a second time, those who have, or may hereafter be freed, and abrogate the odious and unjust distinctions between the white and colored people relative to the grades of punishment in criminal cases, which at present exist in some parts of the country.

Laws might be immediately passed, in some of the States, declaring the future offspring of the slaves free; and the period might be named when the bondage of the parents also should absolutely cease. In others, where the slaves are very numerous, perhaps it might be proper to establish a system of *tenantry*, to continue a certain length of time, at the expiration of which, all should be entitled to their liberty. In every section of the country, masters should be compelled to treat their slaves with humanity. They should be well fed, well clothed, and at least, permitted to enjoy the benefit of religious instruction. They should also be allowed a sufficiency of rest; and, in many cases a considerable degree of relaxation in the severity of their labour would be necessary.

To be brief, such regulations should be made as would tend to improve the minds of the blacks, and prepare them for the enjoyment of their liberty. — They should be taught the art of obtaining a livelihood by means of their industry, and so far enlightened as that they could perceive it to be their interest to labour for their support, without compulsion; and they should also be acquainted, in some measure, with the duties they owe to the community of which they are members.

No apprehension need be entertained relative to the safety of the whites in pursuing such a course as is here recommended. Mitigate the hardships of the slave, and he will have less cause of complaint — Treat him kindly, and his attachment will be secured.

Every slave holder should have the privilege of manumitting his slaves, whenever he please, without being thereafter liable to any particular accountability concerning them, except in case of such as are aged, insane, or infirm: and it should be the duty of the government to facilitate the removal, immediately, to some convenient place, of all such as might be emancipated, on condition of

their leaving the country. — Many would, no doubt, be instantly set free, if such a regulation were in force, who otherwise will be retained in bondage as long as the laws permit.

Proposition 6th. By the regulation here alluded to, three fifths of the slaves in the United States are added to the aggregate amount of the free population, in fixing the ratio of representation in Congress. Allowing one representative for every 40,000 inhabitants, and taking the slaves in each state separately, in which three fifths will amount to that number, it will be seen that Maryland will send one slave representative; Virginia six; N. Carolina three; S. Carolina three; Georgia two; Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky, one each. But in several of the states, large fractions would remain, after calculating, separately, the number of representatives for the different classes; and by adding these fractions together, probably, in a few cases, a state gains a representative. Kentucky, for instance, contains a free population of 437,585. This would give her but ten representatives. Her slaves amount to 126,732, three fifths of which would give her one; but the fractions in both classes are so large, that by adding them together, she will be entitled to twelve representatives in Congress.

Although the Constitution of the United States contains an express provision for taking into the enumeration 3 fifths of the slaves, as above stated, a more absurd and preposterous feature could not, perhaps, have been suffered to exist in the form of a free government. It presents an anomaly in the order and rules of representation, which has no parallel in the annals of republicanism; and it is, moreover a ridiculous burlesque upon the political philosophers of our day.

In the eye of the Law, slaves are considered as *PROPERTY*. The people in the slave holding States have at this time the privilege of sending eighteen or twenty representatives to Congress, on account of the *property* they possess; and the more of this kind of "*property*" they can accumulate, the greater number of members they may have in that body? *Politically speaking*, Slaves are viewed in the same light as Horses, Cattle, or Swine. As well then might the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Alabama, which contain a vast number of those

animals, have the privilege of counting "three fifths" of their number to be represented in Congress!!! The principle would be precisely the same. There would not be a shadow of difference. And further, if 70,000 slaves can be brought from Africa, and smuggled into one of the Southern States, in violation of our laws, she will, *on that account*, be entitled to be more representative in Congress! Was a more obnoxious feature ever before tolerated in a free Constitution? History may be challenged to produce any thing like it. It beats the British thorough-mongering system all hollow.

I am well aware that the privilege above mentioned, is the result of an agreement between the different States, at the time of the establishment of the federal government; and that it is secured to them by compact. But this is no reason why we should shut our eyes, and refuse to become acquainted with the odious peculiarities of the system. Many things are left undone, by our great political reformers, which it is our duty to attend to. A countless number of evils yet remain in the body politic, for us to root out and destroy.

It would be an advantage to the people of the Northern and Middle States, as respects the acquisition of power and influence, for those of the South to exchange their slaves for free persons. On the contrary, the latter would be the gainers. Instead of *three fifths*, they might then count the whole number of inhabitants, and there cannot be the least doubt that, in such case, the country would increase in population much more rapidly than at present. Of course, their influence in the national legislature, instead of diminishing, would increase also.

Proposition 7. In order to carry into effect the foregoing propositions, and unite the operations of the different States, I would recommend the appointment of a certain number of delegates in every State, by the Legislature thereof, to meet in convention annually, for the transaction of business. It should be the duty of these to take cognizance of all matters relating to the Abolition of slavery, to the end, that ways and means might be devised for its gradual accomplishment.

The most intelligent, virtuous, and

capable men in the nation should be selected for this purpose. They should be authorized to hire or purchase a suitable building for their accommodation, allowed a reasonable compensation for their services, and also have their necessary expences paid by government. They should have the privilege of sitting upon their own adjournments, and permitted to take legal advice, if at any time the nature of their business should require it.

It should be the duty of the members when assembled, to collect all the information within their reach, relative to the abolition of slavery, and report such part thereof as would be interesting to their respective State Legislatures, at an early period of their sessions. They should also recommend to them, from time to time, the enactment of such laws as a majority of their number might consider necessary, to further the work of emancipation. And they should publish a regular account of their proceedings with as little delay as possible, for the information of the public.

Were such an assembly as is here contemplated, completely organized, more would perhaps be effected, by that means, towards the gradual emancipation of slaves, than could be done in any way whatever. "What is every body's business, is no body's business." Individuals, Associations, or other public bodies, may attend to it, if convenient, or if they please, they may let it alone; but this would be created specially for that purpose, and engaged solely in the pursuit of that object. It would be as a focus of light and knowledge, relative to the important subject of slavery; and we should probably find it a medium through which we might receive much valuable information, and a source from whence we could derive a great deal of useful instruction.

In short, could I have the pleasure of seeing such a Convention, appointed and organized as above mentioned, now in session, and engaged in solemn deliberation upon the subject in question, I should not yet despair of witnessing, in my day, the liberation of Africa's sable sons from the yoke of bondage; the regeneration of our political schools; and the purification of the social compact from the corruptions of a dangerous aristocracy.

LO HERE! LO THERE!

Modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.

The two following articles will give some idea of the kind of opposition which the editor of this paper occasionally meets; and tho' matters of this sort are for the most part suffered to remain unnoticed, still it may be somewhat satisfactory to his numerous respectable and virtuous coadjutors, to have now and then a peep behind the curtain, where they may see the arts made use of to divert him from his purpose.

The first is an extract of a letter from a person who professes to be in favor of a general emancipation. It was sent by mail, without date or signature.—

The second came folded up in one of my own weekly papers, the direction of that being carefully cut off, so that no clue might remain to trace the source from whence it came.

A few remarks on some particulars, in the extract, are subjoined. But the argument in the other piece, defies comment. Tho' it may be proper to remark, that it is believed to be the production of a notable personage in Missouri, instead of those whom the signature is designed to represent.

An intelligent reader will at once perceive the mighty contrast presented by these different views of my conduct.—Truly, they have me between two fires!

Extract to the Editor.

"How is it that a man who professes philanthropy on a broad scale—who feels such an universal benevolence as to induce him to espouse the cause of the oppressed, & who appears to feel so anxious for the amelioration of the condition of mankind in general, should be an enemy to missions—to sending the Bible to those who know no virtue but revenge, and no supreme good but sensuality.—The Bible and civilization go hand in hand. Look round you—where is the civilized (truly civilized) nation that is not a christian nation.—If you say you are not an enemy to the grand cause, why give place in your paper to so many stale witticisms, and even to the prospectus of a work professedly designed to injure that cause which is the ornament of the present age."

[The writer is out in his reckoning, if he supposes me to be "an enemy to mis-

sions."—It is very true, that I am opposed to splendid and very expensive clerical establishments, whether they exist in the old or new world—in the *Spanish nation*, or the United States of America, and whether they are supported by physical or moral force.—And it is equally true, that I disapprove a pompous and ostentatious display of charity abroad, (which is like "*compassing sea and land to make one proselyte*,") while there are thousands and tens of thousands of fully as deserving objects, & such as are in a much more grievous state of suffering nearer home. If our missionaries will follow the example of our Saviour and his apostles, and first preach to the unbelieving Jews of our own country, and strive to relieve the sufferers, heal the leprous diseases, and cast out the devils among our own people; and having done this, go among the "gentiles" as the apostles did, they will find me willing to aid them to the extent of my limited means.

As to my "giving place to stale witticisms," I should be glad if the gentleman would point them out. The prospectus to which he alludes, must be either for the "*Reformer*," or "*Plain Truth*," published in the American Economist—and if I have erred in this, certain reverend divines have erred also; for some of them not only approve these works, but are regular subscribers. Of these things however a liberal and enlightened public are left to judge, as to their propriety.]

Now for the other precious article.—It is as follows—

"We are not acquainted with Mr. B. Lundy: what may have been said, in some prints, about his character, is of but little avail with us, as we pretend to judge for ourselves. We find several articles in the American Economist judiciously selected, on account of their general utility; but his being the editor and propagator of the Genius of Universal Emancipation doth not deserve a like approbation. Because Mr. B. Lundy, as a man of information and discernment, could have perceived, or at least highly suspected the direful mischief intended by the men at the head of the scheme. Now it is publicly known that those men are the members of the British Cabinet, that they are also at the head of the Bible Society scheme, and of every other disorganizing and murderous scheme through the four quarters of the

globe. Indeed what else can be expected from republicans, without morals, without humanity? the heart sickens at the recollection, and at the sight of the miseries, cruelties and atrocities, which those monsters in human shape have committed, and are daily committing and devising. It is well known also, that the views and designs of that cabinet are not, cannot be favorable to a nation, the arts and misrepresentations of the secreters of British policy notwithstanding. It is well known, publicly known, seen and felt, that the British cabinet have throughout the United States stipendiary editors of journals, agents and emissaries of every description, that their influence is visible on all our institutions, administrative, commercial, manufacturing, financial, banking, &c. &c. Is it for our benefit that they are ruining and destroying our manufactures and industry? is it for our benefit that they are using their influence over the bank of the U. S. &c. to direct and rule elections? is it for our benefit that they are introducing among us all sorts of luxuries, idleness & that foolish pride, which makes us despise every useful labor and occupation? is it for our benefit that they spread a demoralizing doctrine, encouraging defaulters, opposition, and infraction of the laws of the Union? is it for our benefit that through all these means and many others that they intend to disorganize, divide the people into parties, and cause a civil war? now but a supporter of those murderous designs, will deny their existence, and their operative effects. We think that Mr. Niles, in some of his Registers, and some other writers, have said a great deal on this interesting subject, on which there is still a great deal more to say, as something new comes every day to light respecting the extensive designs of the holy alliance, of which the British cabinet is the principal and directing member. Now, with all that before our eyes, can we approve, and call a man a true American, who knowingly, (and it can hardly be otherwise) lends his support to the known and inveterate enemies of our Union?—However the head men of those infamous and debasing intrigues have the impudence to call themselves the most religious: *Bonne Deus!* what a gross abuse of the meaning of words! Now our solid opinion is, that they and their adherents and supporters do not believe

the existence of a God; for if they really did believe, they would not thus daringly and wickedly infringe his divine precepts; they would not, as hypocrites and blasphemers make use of his sacred name, nor under the cloak and mask of what they term religion, commit crimes and atrocities repugnant to his divine laws, and every sense of humanity: we from the bottom of our hearts do firmly believe that they, to their eternal sorrow, will find that a just god exists, that our soul is a real emanation of his divine powers, and that we shall answer for the use we have made of that divine emanation; and that we shall suffer or be rewarded according to that use. No man, who has come to the full age of reason, does sin unknowingly: we allow that in human society some useful deception may be used; such as a parent doth use towards his children, a physician towards his patients, and even sometimes a divine pastor towards his flock; but such deceptions to be innocent and laudable, must clearly and truly tend to and be for the sole benefit of those towards whom it is practised: every other kind of deception is a hateful crime towards God and men: we hope that Mr. B. Lundy will pause in earnest, examine well, not with an unprejudiced, but rather with a prejudiced mind in favor of truth, humanity, and good faith: but if unfortunately he cannot discover any thing criminal or dangerous in the conduct of the men we have depicted, then we give him up.

CITIZENS OF ILLINOIS.

“And such as that paradoxical thing, a *republican* tyrant, uses towards his slave, I suppose.—Ed. G. U. Eman.

For the *Gen. of Universal Emancipation*.
HUMANITAS—No. 1.

(New Series.)

The spirit of the gospel and that of slavery will be found, it is believed, to contain as great a contrast as hope and despair, light and darkness, heaven and hell. For, while the former is to be considered the greatest blessing, the most exalted privilege, ever conferred on the posterity of Adam, the latter, not satisfied with consigning its present victims to disgrace and infamy, would entail on succeeding generations the “bitter draught,” the fiery plague, of unmerited, unqualified servitude. The fir-

mer teaches that God, the Father, created, of one blood, all nations of men, who dwell upon the face of all the earth, with capacity to become his children, and to enjoy the glorious prerogatives of this celestial kingdom; the latter inculcates the idea, that some are made of baser materials than others, not designed to control their moral conduct, nor endowed with genius sufficient to regulate their temporal concerns, but formed to be the servile drudges of such as may have the will and power of exercising tyranny over them. The former teaches "to love our Creator with all the heart, with all the understanding, and with all the strength, and our neighbor as ourselves;" the latter placing the affections on things in the earth, not on things in heaven, assumes authority over a neighbor, loads him with chains, lacerates him with whips, consigns him to the most servile drudgery, and as if to crown the climax with the most consummate impiety and injustice human beings are capable of, riots on the thus acquired fruits of his toil, his tears, his groans, and his blood. The gospel informs us that man is made to glorify his Creator, by celebrating his praise as the only inexhaustible source and fountain of blessings, the author of every good and perfect gift, and points out a sure and infallible guide to eternal felicity, in that divine personage who left us an example that we should follow his steps; slavery refuses "to place its objects upon the common foot of humanity; only sets an insignificant line upon the man who murders them; nay, and as much as it lies, cuts them off from the prospect of happiness in another world, as well as in this; and denies them that which we look upon as the proper means of attaining it." The gospel informs us that, "of a truth, God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him; slavery, for the powerful reason that the parents were slaves, because they were black, subjects their offspring to the same ignominy, and for the same unpardonable crime! The gospel inspires with that wisdom which is from above; first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy; slavery fills man with the wisdom which is from beneath, earthly, sensual, and devilish, first im-

pure, then contentious, passionate, deaf to entreaty, full of malignity and evil fruits, partial and hypocritical. In short, the gospel is the product of infinite love and mercy, proffering to rebellious man, "to blot out all his iniquities, and to remember his transgressions no more." These are the attributes, and this the exalted mission, which prompted the Son to leave his Father's bosom, to leave the heavens and come down amidst celestial antheims of the angelic host, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace; good will towards men;" slavery, originating in the dark suggestions of the avaricious mind, callous to every just sentiment, human and divine, is the genuine offspring of the infernal regions, the gloomy emblem of those dreary abodes on earth, and like Bellona, may justly be represented as holding, in one hand, a rod dyed in blood, with disheveled hair, and fiery eyes, assuming every privilege, and subverting every right of man.

I am aware that, in this contrast, I have been led to use language of a very pointed nature, but nothing personal is intended, and if there are men whose practice renders them personal, what is that to me? Justice to my feelings, justice to the subject, & to my country, will not privilege me to flatter tyranny or court greatness, especially if that greatness be the purchase of a fellow creature's wants and woes. I shall not, therefore, make it my business to soften terms: the land mourns; the moral faculties of the people are diseased; for their cure they must submit to the applications of medicine, and it is not to be expected that these applications will be palatable.

In what light soever slavery is viewed, it is a subject of great and general interest, to the United States. It is an evil, which, like an insidious disease, preys upon the parts essential to health and life, I mean a firm belief of Christianity, and a practice suitable to its dictates. These are principles as necessary to the permanency and durability of a government, as food is necessary to the preservation of life. And, though a nation may, for a while, flourish, and present to the superficial observer, a fair outside, tho' it may exalt itself as a lofty mountain, and bid defiance to the waves of opposition which lave its base, yet, if it turn a deaf ear to justice, if it stretch forth its

dance to oppress the impotent, and hear unmoved the cries of the widow and the fatherless, like the house founded on the sand, it will, it must fall. For, at the same time that I conceive nothing besides christianity establishes a government on so firm a basis, or ensures its continuance, I believe there are few evils so dangerous to its existence, or so pregnant with awful presages of calamity and dissolution, as the toleration of unconditional servitude. And as sure as there is a sun in the firmament, or a God that judges righteously, there is a day of tremendous retribution impending over this devoted republic, unless we speedily turn from the evil of our way, by breaking the shackles of oppression from the haggard limbs of the desponding slave; a day in which it may be said, "They would hear none of my counsel; they despised all my reproofs: therefore shall they eat of the fruits of their own way, and be filled with their own devices.—For the turning away of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them. Indeed the nation which tolerates slavery, though it may make a high profession of christianity, contains within itself, yea, is every moment collecting within its own bosom, materials of so combustible a nature, as, in the end, to cause an explosion, which like the shock of an earthquake, will convulse it to the very centre, and bury its inhabitants beneath its ruins. This is no chimera. It is the experience of ages. It is the testimony of history, sacred and profane. And, unless we make a sacrifice to justice, justice will make a sacrifice of us. It is as inevitable as fate, and as sure as that God is just.

HUMANITAS.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

IRENEUS T. SOPHRONIA.

NO. XI.

1823.

MY VERY AFFECTIONATE SISTER.

From the little acquaintance I have with mankind, I discover that a variety of dispositions and tastes, pervades the human family. Whether these differences are the effects of constitution, or whether they arise from education; or whatever other cause may have given them birth, I shall leave to philosophers and casuists to determine. Whilst some are cultivating the noble virtues of philanthropy, charity, and benevolence; and

from minds illuminated by the orbs of science, & from understandings expanded, and hearts glowing with sympathy for the suffering part of their own species, are pouring out the oil and wine of consolation on the wounds of the afflicted, and are contributing their mite towards happyfying the world, there are others, and perhaps a majority, who never lift their eyes above the surface of the earth—or what they consider to be connected with their own particular private interest. These characters bring to my mind Bunyan's description of the man with his *muck rake*—his eyes were intensely fixed on the ground, and not all the benign efforts of Heaven, in offering him the glory of the celestial world in exchange for his *rake*, could induce him to withdraw his attention from what he was collecting together with that instrument. Thus it is with many men, as it respects the social virtues of humanity, charity, and fellow feeling, as well as in regard to the religious concerns of Eternity, they are too intent on their worldly emoluments, to pay them any attention. Of this class of Characters, I shall single out *Antihumanitas*, to be the companion of my present narrative, and the subject of my animadversions.

Antihumanitas is one of those eccentric beings that is hard to be sounded so as to find a certainty of bottom,—or rather, that his full meaning is difficult to be come at from the tenour of his expressions, when he thinks proper to intermeddle in subjects that do not come immediately within his native element, but which he fears may some how or other, be remotely connected with it.

It is probable that my friend would never have lifted up his eyes to see what is going on in the world, if he had not been startled to it by a bold intruder, who happened to tread upon his grounds, and upon the grounds of his favorite party—this put him on the alert, and he immediately assumed the office of centinel in the company, and uttered his bristly threats against his peace breaking antagonist.

As *Antihumanitas* acts in the capacity of a watchman, he can do no less than feign himself a stern advocate for justice; and, to take some parts of his expressions, unconnected with others, might be taken for one of the greatest philanthropists in the nation. Some time ago, my friend *Anti* got highly offended at one of

his neighbors, to wit, the aforesaid intruder, who had been looking round about him to see what was going on, and then had the hardihood to say something in favour of the abolition of Slavery in our country, and spoke against the ill treatment of the African people of colour in republican & christian professing America. This roused *Anti's* indignation to the highest pitch, to see the great privileges and rights of his favorites thus trampled upon by an impertinent innovator; and as he considered himself to be a little interested in the subject, he gave the gentleman a spirited rebuke for his insolence, and also gave him to understand, that he considered the offence, as an insult committed against the peace and dignity of the nation. My friend is a notable defender of justice, and the rights of men, though his decisions are all in favor of those of his own colour, and the justice he would seem to vindicate is, that *white men*, should hold *black men* in slavery without interruption, as that interruption would be an infringement on the rights of man! How *white men* came by this exclusive privilege, is a subject which should be well investigated,—surely the charter was never guaranteed to them, either by Heaven, or the laws of nature, nor yet by the bill of rights, upon which our national constitution is founded!

Antihumanitas, in his eccentric manoeuvres to put out the eyes of the unsuspecting, in very pathetic language, deplores the misfortune of slavery in our country, and by his plaintive accents, would lead the unwary to believe that he indeed considers it a curse to the nation; but to mark with precision his other reasonings on the subject, we shall discover that he is a downright sentimental slave holder, and strenuous advocate for the continuance of that very curse, which he so pathetically laments.

Anti says, that to set them free, would be to increase the evil. From this, we must infer, that he would not have them freed at all—as no wise man could so mournfully deplore a lighter curse, and at the same time, desire that a heavier should succeed it.

He asserts, as an objection to their freedom, that they are a *depraved* idle, and *worthless* set of beings.—Let us attend to this picture of the monster with *three heads*, which my friend has so artfully drawn:—*First, depraved*—And

whence this *depravity*? did their forefathers bring it from Africa with them, and transmit it to their posterity by natural generation? Or rather, have they not borrowed it from the example of their masters and mistresses? This, I should suppose, is the most probable.—But perhaps my friend *Antihumanitas* is mistaken with respect to their depravity, for *Ignoramus* *zealotes* asserts that the bringing them from Africa into American slavery, is conferring on them one of the greatest blessings, as by this means, they come to the knowledge of christianity, which is an ample compensation for all they can possibly suffer. Now, if *Ignoramus* is correct, then *Antihumanitas* has got a fall! But I will suppose that they are indeed depraved, and that *Ignoramus* has been mistaken with respect to their knowledge of christianity; for I am fully convinced that they could see none of it among those, who had little or none of it themselves,—I mean their owners. *Depraved* indeed, and no wonder! Look at their education, and compare it with that of the brutes, and if there is any difference, tell us what it is! Willfully deprived of the knowledge of letters, and kept in the most profound ignorance of every thing but drudgery and degradation, lest they should come to a discovery of the wrongs which are inflicted on them by their tyrannical owners, and not admitted to familiar conversation on any subject; and, if spoken to at all on any religious, or moral case, it is generally in a tone, and mode of expression, that carries with it the marks of overbearing superiority in the speaker, and of abjectness, as belonging to the hearer!

But what if they are *depraved*? Is there not a remedy at hand?—Are not missionaries swarming out into the world, thick as the locusts in Africa; and will not this depravity of the blacks, flee before them, like the shades of night, before the refulgent beams of the morning sun? But now I think of it, these missionaries do not trouble themselves about the conversion of our African slaves—their call is to foreign nations, and to the Indian tribes. Do the missionaries indeed believe that African slaves have no souls, that they pay them so little attention? or are they afraid of injuring their popularity, by being employed in so low a service as that of preaching to slaves, and instructing them in the mysteries of

the Gospel?—Or finally, are they fearful of giving umbrage to the masters and mistresses, who, if their slaves should become truly religious, might lose their services in another world? If so, their depravity must remain; and it will remain, till they obtain a better education than that which is inculcated by *whip lectures*, and low scurrility. But secondly, "they are *idle*." And no wonder! let *Anti*, industrious as he may be, with all the industrious slave holders in the nation, but be in their servile condition, and they would be as idle, as my friend says the slaves are. The hope of reward sweetens labour; but the cow skin whip, with a few coarse rags, and a scanty pittance of the most indifferent kind of food, served up to them in abusive and insulting language, are miserable incitements to industry.

I pass on now to the third head: they are "*worthless*." Then why have them at all?—This last seems to be a little paradoxical: do their masters and mistresses have to maintain them; and toil day and night—doing all the drudgery, to procure something to keep the worthless creatures from starving outright? Charitable souls, truly! But this is not the case—the slaves, *worthless* as they are represented to be, have, in numberless instances, to spin out their miserable existence in the most pinching poverty, labouring and toiling night and day, that their haughty oppressors may riot in wealth and extravagance!

If they are *worthless*, why is it that they are in such vast demand in some of the slave holding States, that many men run the risk of the halter, by kidnapping those that are free, in order to make fortunes by selling them for the immense sums, which the hungry nabobs offer for negro slaves?—And whence those swarms of human vultures, I mean the *soul predators*, that infest our public highways with their droves of human beings, who are better than themselves—many of them chained, or otherwise fettered together with irons, driving them to market like hogs or cattle, to make merchandise of, as if they were remorseless devils, and delighted in tormenting that part of the human race?

Do the purchasers know that they are worthless, and yet give such exorbitant prices for them as they do, or have they been imposed upon, and have to find out by sad experience that it is the case?—

No.—Many of them have been raised upon the labour, blood, and sweat of slaves, who have earned them the vast wealth which they have got into their hands, and with which they are purchasing more of this *worthless* kind of property.

Antihumanitas says, that if the slaves are freed at all, it must be *slowly and gradually*:—So far I think he is correct, if he is sincere in what he says; but he seems still to play the paradox, for he has also said, that men must be *enlightened* before they will consent to liberate them; and when his neighbour had *lighted a candle* for that express purpose, *Anti* pulled at it to put out! This conduct looks a little like inconsistency.—*Antihumanitas* asked his intruding neighbour, with great emphasis, how he could think that it would comport with justice, for a citizen who was possessed of but a few acres of land and some negroes, to free them! What a philanthropist—and how tender of the rights of the poor citizens; but manifests the same sort of tenderness for the indigent citizen's negroes, as the *monkey* in the fable, did for the *cat*, after he had used her paws to get the chesnuts out of the fire! The highway man may vindicate his robberies upon the principles of such justice as this, and say, that he will make restitution, after he has made a fortune out of his spoils. So my friend *Anti*, in the plenitude of his benevolence, has observed, that it will be time enough to liberate them, when these poor citizens get better able to dispense with their services. Here is more paradox, for I think that it was never known, that an increase of liberty is connected with, or flowed from an increase of wealth, but the contrary. But to return to the *starving family*, the *waste plantation*, and the *suffering creditors*. It would seem, from the plaintive language of my friend in this statement, that he had never been out of sight of a negro quarter; and that he supposed that none but *starving families*, *waste plantations*, and *suffering creditors*, are to be seen, where the citizens have no slaves!

I am doubtful that my friend had got his head a little addled, when he was drawing his picture of *depravity*, *idleness* and *worthlessness*, and applied it to the slaves instead of the slave holders, to whom it would more properly apply; for the slaves are the only persons that la-

bar and do all the drudgery; but, many of the slave holders are too much *depraved*, too idle, and *worthless* to work at all; and in all probability, if their slaves were gone their families would *starve* their plantations *go to waste*, and their *creditors suffer*, sure enough! The horse races, the cock fights, and the card tables (if any should then exist) would be attended by few but hungry, ragged, penniless spectators, with nothing to lose, and where there would be but little to win: yes, and some of the poor *dandies* would be miserably dissected, if their slaves were gone, and they had to work to pay for their pleasures!

I have ever observed in my travels, that the plantations belonging to those that have no slaves, are in as flourishing conditions, for the most part, and are in as high a state of cultivation, as the plantations of slave holders; for, among the non-slave holders of respectability, industry, and frugality, go hand in hand; and in obedience to the apostolic injunction, they "quietly work and eat their own bread," and not that which is earned by the involuntary labour of others; and work with their own hands, that they may have to give to him that needeth," instead of being charitable on that which is wrested by injustice and violence, from degraded Africans. Peace, the companion of honest industry, presides in these tabernacles of contentment, and smiling plenty crowns the frugal board;—the laborious husbandman retires to his fields with cheerfulness, to till the ground, and to teach his sons, who accompany him, the useful, and pleasant arts of husbandry. Remote from the mansions of oppression, he is a stranger to those tornadoes, and hurricanes—those torturing sounds of the cowskin whip, and the screams of the victims of resentment;—to the murmurings, discontent, and perturbation, which are more or less the concomitants of forbidden domination; and finally, from that *curse*, which is consequent on, and forever will be the companion of slavery. As they are, many many of them, men of sober morals, they are cautious in contracting debts, knowing that it is by the labour of their own hands, that these debts are to be paid, and hence, their creditors are not likely to suffer; but the tendency of slavery is to open the floodgates of extravagance, dissipation, and vice; and the heedlong *idler*, dashes in debt with

precipitancy. The slaves must be driven to excess, to pay it, if they should fail in earning a sufficiency for that, one, or more of them must be sold to cancel the account. But the happy non-slave holder is freed from that curse—he has no cringing slave to "fan him while he sleeps, and tremble when he wakes,"—he dwells in the salubrious climes of philanthropy, and a conscience void of the offence of living on the "gain of oppression" is his *patroler*; he lies down to sleep, and rests in safety.

But I come to a close, and subscribe myself, &c. IRENEUS.

THE EIGHTH CONVENTION Of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, see, to the different Judicatures of the Church of Christ, Sendeth, greeting:

DEAR BRETHREN,

THE Convention would address you in that love which wisheth well to all men, on a subject which they conceive to be of vital importance, namely, the subject of *Involuntary Slavery*. And be assured brethren, we feel a degree of pleasure in addressing you, inasmuch as we may do it with plainness of speech, untrammelled by mere motives of civil policy.

We consider Slavery, as it exists in our country, to be a gross violation of all law, both human and divine, and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ. We presume none but the Infidel, will dare to say that the slave is not rational, accountable, and consequently, immortal. Yet we see him dependent on the will of others, whether he shall receive religious instruction; whether he shall enjoy the ordinances of the Gospel, and worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Yea, more, he is dependent on the will of others, whether he shall enjoy the endearing society of the wife of his bosom, and the offspring of his body. In short, he is almost deprived of the powers of moral action.

Whence, brethren, is this paradox in the moral system? Shall the tongue of the learned be heard, and the pen of the subtle politician be employed in almost every civil department of government, shewing the impolicy, and pointing to the horrid consequences attendant on slavery?—and shall those who have been represented by Jesus Christ himself, as lights of the world, and as the

salt of the earth, remain silent and inactive in this all-important case? Is there not too much ground to fear that the salt has lost its savour, and the darkness is covering the light? Christianity certainly consists in right views, and virtuous dispositions. And if so, the Christian views God, as a God possessed of every possible perfection, and that to an infinite degree. He views the law of God, as a transcript of his nature; consequently, he believes that every precept of that law is marked with infinite propriety, and he is disposed to love God supremely, and his neighbor as himself; and while he is disposed to ascribe glory, honor and thanksgiving to God, in the view of the Gospel scheme of Salvation, the holy ejaculation flows from his heart and tongue, "Lord have mercy on sinners, let thy kingdom come, and thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."—And now, brethren, if this is a scriptural representation of the christian character, we would ask, is it possible that the person who is under the influence of these heaven-born principles, can deliberately, daily and habitually deny his fellow man the enjoyment of those privileges which inherently belong to rational beings? And while he prays, "let thy kingdom come," feel the utmost indifference whether his slave come to the knowledge of God? And is it possible that the watchmen on the walls of Zion, and officers of the Church of the Redeemer, can remain silent and unmoved, while they behold one member of the flock under their care, selling the soul and body of another? O brethren, if christians are the salt of the earth, hath not the salt lost its savour, while we behold the infidel painting in lively colours, the demon of slavery, and the christian selling his brother in the Lord? O brethren, awake, arise from your lethargy, wipe off the foul stain, and let the Redeemer no longer be wounded in the house of his friends. The Convention would call upon you to aid in the work of emancipation; the motives to induce you are numerous and urgent; the present and future happiness of your families demand it—the perpetuity of government demands it; and duty demands it. But if these are weak and ineffectual, the God of the Universe has commanded you to "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free." Dear brethren, what course will you pursue?

Will you refuse to lend your hands, until our political fabric, which has been reared at the expense of the blood of our fathers, and through which are secured all our privileges, both civil and religious, shall totter and crumble to pieces by cherishing slavery, the source of positive weakness, in its bosom. Finally, brethren, may your hearts be raised to a throne of grace; for Salvation is of the Lord.

Signed on behalf of the Convention,

JAMES JONES, *President*

== PETITION,

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Tennessee.

YOUR humble petitioners hereunto subscribed, feeling solicited to promote the rights of man, as exhibited in the Constitution of the United States of America, and declaration of rights upon which it was established, are induced to petition your honorable body to take into consideration the deplorable situation of the people of colour, held in slavery in our highly favored and high professing country; and in your wisdom devise some plan, and pass it into a law, for their relief; such as allowing masters who are convinced of the impropriety of holding slaves, to emancipate them on terms that will not involve themselves or their estates for their maintenance; provided the court should be of opinion that the slaves so offered for emancipation, are in all probability, capable of maintaining themselves.

And further, we would suggest to you the justice, the good policy, &c. of your honorable body passing a law, declaring agreeable to the purport of the above declaration of rights, and the laws of nature, that all men are and ought to be free; that all the descendants of slaves, born after the passage of said law, shall be free at some age, which your honorable body, doing as you would be done by, may fix upon; meanwhile, enjoining on those who may have the raising of such, to teach them some useful occupation, and learn them, if practicable, to read the scriptures, that they may be qualified to become members of civil society; and also, that your honorable body will discourage, by fine or otherwise, the inhuman practice of separating husbands and wives, within the limits of this State. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

MISCELLANEOUS.

If any faith is due to a letter received in this city from an American gentleman at Rio Janeiro, the Brazilian government will be of a very motley complexion. "Deputies" says he, "arrived here last month from Pernambuco—one white, one black, and one mulatto." The same letter states that "agents have been appointed, and will be sent by this government to the United States, as well as to England."—We wonder if they will honour us with a black or mulatto ambassador."—*Philadelphia Union*.

[Yes, proud man—(first not thyself too much)—there can be no doubt that the time will come, when we shall be so "honoured." *Mirabile dictu!*]

A late London paper observes that, "Mr. Allen, the philanthropist, is at Verona, urging the cause of Africa with all his might.—A strict Quaker in principle, as well as in profession, he regularly appears before the sovereigns with his hat on, and they as regularly admit him in the character of a privileged Friend."

The Legislature of South Carolina have given to Purcell, the free man of colour, who gave information of the late intended insurrection, in that state, 100 dollars a year for life, and exempted himself and family from taxation.

Southern Paper.

[An incontrovertible argument in favour of the principle maintained in this work, and by true philanthropists generally, that where slaves are numerous the safety of the masters consists in treating them kindly. Else why not punish this man instead of rewarding him?—Answer me this, ye aspiring and avaricious nabobs, who are fain to use any pretext to perpetuate your usurped authority.—*Gen. Univer. Eman.*]

A bill to permit coloured people to give testimony in the courts of law in the State of Ohio, in like manner as white persons, was lately rejected in the House of Representatives of that State, by a vote of 36 to 31.

West Indies. A general insurrection of the blacks was designed at Martinico, if we may judge from the fact stated

that two hundred have been condemned to be burnt! but only the slaves of three plantations had actually revolted, and these committed many outrageous acts before they were subdued. When we look at the probable fate of the West India islands, generally, we are filled with horror. *Niles.*

An African School has been opened in New Brunswick, under the care of Mr. John Bartly, a student of colour from the school at Parsippany. *N. J. Eagle.*

Look!—A bill has been introduced into the Legislature of South Carolina, for the purpose of imposing a tax of \$50 on all free male negroes, or persons of colour, between the age of 15 and 50 years; and to imprison all such persons brought into the state on board of vessels, serving as cooks, mariners, &c. until the vessels depart.

A Colonization Society (auxiliary to the American Colonization Society) has lately been formed at Maysville, Ky.

The Slave Trade. By recent accounts received at Boston From Sierra Leone, it appears that the British cruizers on the coast of Africa, continued very active in their endeavors to put down the abominable traffic in human flesh.

Execution of slaves at Martinique.—The Martinique Gazette of Nov. 19th gives the result of the trial at St. Pierre, of the slaves taken in the late revolt on that island, in which five white and two coloured persons were killed, and many robbers committed, viz.

8 to have their right hands cut off, be beheaded, and their bodies thrown away.

14 hanged, and their bodies exposed and thrown away.

10 flogged, branded, and transported for life to France.

8 whipped 29 lashes, and

9 to assist in the execution;

14 acquitted, and one not tried,

4 were killed in the pursuit.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The "*Modern Listner* No. X." is part in type, but is necessarily deferred until the next number.

Several other valuable communications, (too many to enumerate,) are also postponed but will be attended to soon.

From the Friend of Peace.
LETTER FROM FRANCE.

(Translation.)

SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN MORALS.
Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

SIR,—Nothing which interests humanity is foreign to Peace Societies. We have therefore the honor to inform you, that the Society of Christian Morals, whose design and labors are known to you, has appointed a committee to devise the most suitable means of furthering the effectual abolition of the Slave Trade.

We think that this religious and philanthropic undertaking is entitled to the good wishes of the respectable Society over which you preside. We have therefore the honor to send you twenty five copies of the regulations of our committee, requesting you to communicate them to the members of the Peace Society. We trust that you will second our endeavors by your counsel and encouragement; and we shall receive with gratitude any communications from you, relating to the object of our labors.

Accept, sir, the assurance of our high consideration.

TURCKHEIM, *Vice President.*

CHARLES REMUSAT, *Secretary.*

To the President of the

Massachusetts Peace Society.

The "Regulations of the Committee" mentioned in the letter from Baron Turckheim, were translated, and published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, Oct. 12, under direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Society to aid in the suppression of the Slave Trade. That important document will probably be reviewed in our next Number. It contains just sentiments, which are equally applicable to the Slave Trade and to Public War.

The progress of philanthropy must be gratifying to every benevolent mind. Slavery and the Slave Trade are the genuine offspring of war. Peace Societies must, therefore, wish the success of those Societies which have for their object the abolition of such enormous evils.

Massachusetts. An important Society has been recently organized in Boston, called "The Massachusetts Society to aid in the suppression of the Slave Trade." Of this Society the Hon.

Daniel Webster, at present a member of Congress, is the President.

From the Edwardsville Spectator.

MINUTES

Of the Annual Meeting of the Friends of Humanity, held at Cantine Creek, St. Clair County, Illinois. October the 4th, 1822, and the two succeeding days.

According to appointment, the Friends of Humanity met, and brother Benjamin Ogle delivered the Introductory Sermon, from Revelations, first chapter and sixteenth verse: "And he had in his right hand seven stars; and out of his mouth went a sharp two edged sword; and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength."

1. The letters from the churches were read, and the names of their ministers and delegates enrolled.

Ministers and Delegates.

FROM CANTINE CREEK—Benjamin Ogle, Joseph Lemen, Jr. Austin Symms, *Ministers*—George Dickson, James Downing, Stephen Terry, *Delegates.*

SILVER CREEK—David Chance, *Minister*—Samuel Shook, Samuel M'Guire, Patrick Huggins, *Delegates.*

FOUNTAIN CREEK—James Lemen, sen, Daniel Hilton, Josiah Lemen, Moses Lemen, *Ministers*—Thomas M. Hamilton, Levi Deano, Zopar Williams, *Delegates.*

COLDWATER—John Clark, *Minister.*

TURKEY HILL—James Pulliam, *Min.*

2. A circular letter, written by the Rev. John Clark, was read, and received.

3. Agreed, that the Minutes and Circular be printed, and Benjamin Ogle and Robert Lemen superintend the printing of two hundred copies.

4. Appointed brother Benjamin Ogle to write the next circular.

5. Agreed, that brother John Clark preach the Next Introductory Sermon, and in case of failure, brother Joseph Lemen.

6. Agreed, that our next Annual Meeting be held at New Design, Monroe county, on the Friday before the second Saturday in October, 1823, and the two succeeding days.

By order of the Annual Meeting,

ROBERT LEMEN, *Clerk.*

"This Circular was published in the Genius of Universal Emancipation, (see page 72 of the present volume.)"

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 8. VOL. II.

SECOND MONTH, 1823.

WHOLE No. 20.

It is exceedingly gratifying to perceive that a deep and lively interest in the work of humanity and benevolence continues to increase in the southern States of this Union. This Number, it will be seen, is principally devoted to the use of correspondents; and yet many valuable communications remain on file. It is a hard matter to discriminate among them, so as to tell which are entitled to the precedence; but some respect must be paid to the order of time—the date of their reception &c. and justice will be done as far as it may be possible to come at it. I sincerely hope these favors will be continued. Altho' I might have a world in arms to contend with, the sacredness and justness of the cause should bear me up; still, "as iron sharpeneth iron, so doth a man the countenance of his friend;" and I cannot faint while I have such able companions to cheer me on my way. Press on my friends; you have now put your hands to the plough, and look not back until the grand and important work shall be consummated.

PLAN FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The advocates for unlimited, and unconditional slavery are fairly driven from the field of argument. They are no longer willing to plead in favour of its continuance.—And seeing they cannot openly justify the enslavement of negroes, they now in a seemingly triumphant manner ask "*What shall be done with them?*"—It appears that they cannot divine in what way their emancipation can ever be effected. It would be worse than death to them to admit coloured persons, to any thing like an equality with themselves; some, indeed, would go into fits at the very thought of it, if they could believe it were possible that it should take place. Many are now constrained to acknowledge that *Freedom is the natural right of all men*, as our sages have wisely declared; they all agree that slavery should be abolished in our country; but *now it is to be done*, is the grand desideratum.—The cry of,

"shew us a plan, shew us a plan," is raised in every part of the country.—It is reverberated from palace to palace, and from hut to hut. In compliance with this general request, a plan for the purpose which was published in the first volume of this work, was re-inserted in the last number for a more general perusal. It is also published in pamphlet form, & may be had by applying at this office. Let none say hereafter, that the advocates of emancipation rail against the system of slavery without pointing out the means of ridding ourselves of it. Those who may be dissatisfied with the plan now offered, are earnestly entreated to assist in devising a better.

HENRY CLAY.

A great deal of exertion is now making in some parts of the western country to enhance the popularity of this man, with the view of elevating him to the Executive Chair of the United States. His partizans are numerous and active; and as he is himself a master-spirit of intrigue, he will no doubt make a formidable appearance in the list of Candidates. I shall consider it extremely unfortunate for our country if he can by any means succeed in attaining that eminent station. His sentiments on the subject of slavery, are of the most obnoxious character. I therefore hope the friends of genuine republicanism throughout the Union will be on the alert, and endeavour to counteract the machinations of those who are specially employed as emissaries and tools for the promotion of his ambitious views.

An article on the subject of elections generally will probably appear in next number.

PETITION TO CONGRESS.

A petition was recently presented to Congress, from the Manumission Society of Tennessee, praying that measures may be taken by that body to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia.

This is undoubtedly a question which merits the serious consideration of the members of the National Legislature;

and it would be extremely gratifying to the friends of humanity, and the advocates of liberty generally, in the United States, if they would give it that attention which it justly deserves. It cannot be possible that this great republic, which proudly boasts of the freedom of its citizens, the perfection of its civil code, the admirable simplicity of its internal regulations, and the justice and equity in the administration of its affairs, will always submit to the imputation of practicing the most outrageous and unblushing tyranny while it makes such exalted professions of purity and excellence. It cannot be possible that the members from the free states, who compose a respectable majority, will much longer sanction or tolerate an evil of so baneful a tendency, in that district over which Congress possesses the *exclusive control*, when they have set their faces against it, and totally abolished it in other parts of the country.

My limits are too narrow, and the Session of Congress is too far spent, to enlarge upon so fruitful a subject at present; but if health and strength shall enable me, I intend to remind the members of it when they next assemble, to deliberate upon the affairs of the nation.

Before I conclude this article, I will merely observe, that we may reasonably indulge the hope that the aforesaid petition will meet with better treatment than one of a similar kind did some time since, in the legislature of a certain State—In short, *it is to be hoped that the members will not KICK IT under the table.*

STEP BY STEP.

The members of a very respectable Congregation of German Lutherans in this County, in which the Rev. Philip Henkle officiates as pastor, have lately passed a *resolution* declaratory of their abhorrence of slavery. This is truly pleasing intelligence; for it is fair to presume that those who are induced to take such a step, will, in case they see an opportunity to act in a more efficient manner, immediately embrace it. Indeed this is a natural consequence of a close adherence to *Christian* principles.

Many of the *Methodists* are also very active in depicting the evils of the odious system. Perhaps there are more of that society at the present day, who are ardently desirous to wipe off this stigma

from our national escutcheon than that of any other which tolerates the system in any degree; yet it is with pain I perceive there are some among them who are resolutely bent on persisting in the vile practice, notwithstanding they *must know it to be wrong!* So true it is, that whether in the pursuit of heaven or hell, the riches of this world, and even the wages of unrighteousness, will be held by many *with an iron grasp*, until the last glimmering ray of life is ready to expire in the socket.

But we must not omit to give others the credit which they deserve. The *Presbyterians** and the *Baptists* are making rapid advances in the great and important work of African Emancipation. And we may safely indulge the pleasing hope that the number is increasing, and the hands are strengthening of those who are disposed to purge their congregations of the heart-corrupting and soul-debasing crime of oppression. May the Almighty prosper the holy work.—And to the Ministers of the Gospel in the different religious societies, I would say:—"Pray ye the lord of the harvest" that he send forth more *honest* labourers into the field. "Ye are the salt of the earth," and "the light of the world"—Beware that the salt lose not its savour; and bear in mind that "a city which is built on a hill cannot be hid." To you it belongs to inculcate and enforce the true maxims of Christian benevolence as far as it may be in your power. It cannot then be possible that you can behold the manacled and mangled condition of thou-

* It may be proper to mention in this place, that the enlightened and truly philanthropic editor of the *Abolition Intelligencer* is a Presbyterian Minister, and not a Methodist, as was formerly stated upon erroneous information.

† A considerable number of the members of this society, in Kentucky, and also in Illinois, have seceded from the main body, and have taken the appellation of "*Emancipation Baptists*." Here is an example for true christians of every denomination. "*Come out from among them, come out from among them.*"—"Be ye not partakers of other men's sins."—God will rain vengeance upon Sodom and Gomorrah. And the great whore of Babylon, as well as the idols of Baalim and Moloch, must be destroyed.

sands of human beings in this enlightened age and nation, without lifting up your voices and proclaiming the fiat of justice against the fiend-invented practice. As well might oil and water, light and darkness, heaven and hell unite, as for Christianity or Republicanism to favour criminality of so deep a dye.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Among the private letters received by the editor of this work from time to time, there are many which contain interesting suggestions and remarks, that deserve to be recorded. What renders them the more valuable, is, that they always speak the plain, unvarnished, unsophisticated sentiments of the writers. As they are not intended for publication, they of course are couched in terms which the heart dictates.—And moreover, they tend to shew, in some degree, the state of the public mind, in different sections of the country, relative to the subject upon which they treat. Several short extracts from a few of those lately received, are subjoined.

From a friend and recent subscriber in North Carolina.

"The different numbers of the paper have not been long by me. I perused them and circulated them among my friends and neighbors, until some of them are nearly worn out. I have used my endeavors to procure subscriptions, and have had the promises of several. The papers are generally applauded, though there are some bitter spirits that oppose them with might and main. These are very censorious, but truth and justice will meet with enemies. Notwithstanding there is such a lukewarmness, and the prospect appears so dull at present, I do believe this great, this glorious work [African Emancipation] will grow and prosper in this part of the country."

From a gentleman who is a native of the same State, and who has for many years followed the sea as Captain of a vessel.

"Rest assured that I shall use my best endeavors to aid the circulation of the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation' as long as slavery has a lurking place in the land of Columbia. I openly declare, that were I a member of any religious society whose discipline allowed any of its members to hold slaves, in any king-

dom, country or state, I would no longer be a member, or sit in communion with such a society. While a man holds slaves, and advocates the system, possessing the principles of a tyrant, and ruling with a rod of iron, let him be viewed as a demon, for he will have enough to answer for. Indeed, I am of opinion that a man of that principle, claiming protection from the gospel, will have more than enough to answer for. If the sons of the slaveholder would take hold of the plough, and the daughters hold of the distaff, and learn tyranny no more; the former refrain from horse-racing, drinking, and gambling of every kind, with all other idle amusements that lead to dissipation, and the latter abandon the tea table parties, the ball rooms, &c. and both oversee their domestic concerns, treating the slaves as hired servants, letting them know they should be liberated when fit to enjoy their freedom, and endeavor to give them some education, and bring them up in a way whereby they might, with good behaviour, obtain a living, then would the poor negroes serve them with fidelity: we should soon see a difference between them and the devotees of tyranny and folly; for while the former would be accumulating a fortune, and possessing that peace of mind which the world cannot give, nor take away, the latter would be fast verging to a state of beggary. If all would adopt such a mode of proceeding as is here recommended, their glorious deeds would be wafted on the proudest pinions of fame to earth's remotest regions, and generations yet unborn would hold their names in grateful remembrance."

From a subscriber in the lower part of Virginia.

"I could feel engaged to communicate often on the subject of emancipation. I verily do believe the cause is gaining ground, and sincerely desire that the blind eyes may be opened, and the deaf ears unstopped before it be too late; for the Almighty hath declared that those who will not bow in mercy, shall in judgement. And O that our professed christians might become possessed of the true gospel spirit, after which I am well assured that their eyes would be open, that they might see the impropriety and injustice of holding any of their fellow beings in bondage.—Time and convenience will not admit, at present, of communicating all I could wish on the sub-

ject, but I may say, *Benjamin*, hold out to the end, for we read what is the reward of the faithful servant, &c. &c.

I have been obliged to lend out my papers very much, and am induced to believe not unprofitably. Once the ice is fairly broken, the current will undoubtedly clear itself of the burden. However hard it may seem, let us not give out, though it may seem to avail but little in the present time. Remember, "the bread that was cast on the waters." I do verily hope, if not sooner, it may be found "after many days."

Another.

"It is my ardent wish and desire sir, that you may prove to be as great an apostle of universal liberty, as St. Paul was of christianity—tho' not to suffer as much as he did; for, says he, *"Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep: in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by my own countrymen; in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."*

The hell-hounds of slavery have attacked, and will probably continue to attack you, but thank God, barking is all they dare to do. Many scandalous pieces have appeared against the "G. of U. Emancipation," in some of the newspapers which are devoted to the honorable calling of buying and selling human flesh, among which I noticed one signed B. S. Bulfinch.* I know the villain; he is a drunken, itinerant printer, and was lately detected in this county in stealing.

* I have never yet had the pleasure of seeing the remarks of the person here named. He is known in this part of the country as a strolling, doggerel rhymester; and unless he is much better at prose than poetry, he is absolutely unworthy of notice. *Ed.*

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

THE RIGHT USE OF INFLUENCE.

A circumstance was related in a late Convention of the Manumission Society

by a member of that body, in substance nearly as follows:—There were two Slaveholders, who lived neighbors to each other; the one held a male, the other a female slave, who became in time strongly attached to each other, and at length were married. But the man who held the female slave, either removed or sold her to a person residing at about the distance of thirty miles: their attachment still continued, & the black man went to see the object of his choice as often as he could obtain leave; that, being granted too seldom, (as he thought,) he would sometimes slip off, and pay a visit without his master's knowledge. In passing to and from home, he went directly by the old gentleman's door, who related the circumstance. Our humane, well disposed member, took an opportunity to converse with the black man on the subject, and asked him why he did not look out for another woman nearer home, and marry her, and content himself without going so far from home. The black man replied that he felt a strong attachment to that woman, and could not think of marrying any other while she lived; and added, that he must be with her as often as he could. Their conversation breaking off, our Philanthropist resolved to converse with the black man's master on the subject, which he did, and it so happened that the black man was away at that time, to see his wife, and that too, without leave, which occasioned the master to be considerably out of humour; however our member advised the other to purchase the female servant, and bring her home to her husband. But he said he did not like the black woman; and as for the man, he would have satisfaction for his going without leave; he said he would send him to Orleans. Our worthy member replied, beware what you do! you have it in your power to do good, and you have it in your power to do evil; but remember the time will come, when you will not have this in your power. Their conversation ended here, but the reflection of what had passed made some serious impressions on the mind of the master: And to his honour be it spoken, he contrived it that the black woman was brought back, and I believe it was stated they were then living together, at the time of the Convention. If the giving of a cup of cold water to a disciple, in the name of a disciple, is not to go unrewarded, may we not suppose that the

First Justice to our Colored.

deed that this man hath done, will be had in remembrance: in that day when he shall stand to give an account, and receive the reward of his doings at the hand of the Judge of all, both quick and dead.

J. K.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
MR. LUNDY,

The following extract from the Christian Spectator for December 1822, may not have fallen in your way. You will probably think it worthy of a place in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

"At the end of the octavo edition of

Morse's Geography in one volume, just published, are a variety of very interesting tables, giving condensed views of the population, commerce, &c. of different countries, and especially of our own. One of these tables exhibits the relative increase of the white and black population in the United States. It discloses several most important facts—facts which show that unless such measures are speedily taken as will in the end remedy the evil, it will some day be their certain destruction. We give this table entire, together with the author's remarks upon it:—

TABLE.

Shewing the rate of increase of the White, and of the Black Population, in each State, between the several National Enumerations.

STATES.	10 years, from 1790 to 1800.		10 years, from 1800 to 1810.		10 years, from 1810 to 1820.		50 years, from 1790 to 1820.	
	WHITES.		WHITES.		WHITES.		WHITES.	BLACKS.
	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.
Maine	57.0	52.0	50.9	18.4	30.57	4.62	209.62	7.54
N. Hamp.	29.6	9.1	16.6	12.7	13.94	18.01	72.43	
Vermont	80.5	105.5	41.1	34.6	8.15	24.00	175.05	238.00
Mass.	11.4	18.0	11.7	4.4	10.09	.05	38.84	23.05
R. Island	1.5	13.0	11.8	0.9	8.47	3.10	23.62	17.06
Connecticut	5.3	12.7	4.3	7.6	4.70	17.09	14.98	43.05
N. York	76.7	19.2	65.5	30.2	45.07	2.43	324.00	51.06
N. Jersey	14.4	11.5	16.7	11.1	13.51	7.11	51.05	41.03
Penn'a.	38.2	58.6	34.3	43.1	29.04	30.71	140.00	197.00
Delaware	7.6	13.5	11.0	20.0	06.61	.86	19.03	36.08
Maryland	3.6	12.8	8.0	16.1	11.10	1.16	24.07	32.05
Virginia	16.3	19.4	7.2	15.8	9.33	9.29	36.64	51.02
N. Carolina	17.0	33.0	11.4	27.6	11.34	22.64	45.04	108.00
S. Carolina	40.0	37.0	9.1	34.5	8.22	28.66	76.07	136.00
Georgia	93.6	103.7	42.2	77.1	30.03	41.51	258.00	411.00
Alabama	}		344.5	372.0	554.08	340.00		
Miss.								
Louisiana								
Tennessee.	187.3	267.7	135.4	230.0	57.04	80.07	965.00	2136.00
Kentucky	194.2	227.5	80.2	100.2	37.01	57.01	611.00	935.00
Ohio			408.2	463.0	132.00	157.00	19,000.00	
Indiana			421.9	211.4	502.00	131.06		
Illinois					367.07	84.00		
Missouri					*293.06	240.00		
Mich. Ter.			764.8	747.9	863.00	20.00		
Col. Dis.			607.9	97.2	40.08	31.04		
TOTAL	35.6	32.4	35.0	32.8	34.02	28.09	147.06	133.07

*Including Arkansas Territory.

REMARKS.—From the above table it appears that, taking the whole United States together, the whites increase faster than the blacks. During the last thirty years the population has been as 147 to 133. But in the States in which the blacks are very numerous, they have almost uniformly increased faster than the

whites of those States. In Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, for example, the blacks during the last thirty years, have increased much faster than the whites. In North Carolina and Tennessee, they have increased more than as fast again. In South Carolina, during the last ten years, they have increased more than three times as fast, the proportion being as 28 to 8. In the northern States, on the other hand, the black population is almost stationary, and in Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, during the last ten years, has actually diminished. The increase of black population between 1810 and 1820, was considerably less than between 1800 and 1810.—This appears to be owing in part to the prohibition of the importation of slaves, which took effect on the first of January, 1808."

[The subject-matter of the above is of the most interesting nature. I had intended, myself, long ere this to have presented the reader with a view of the progress of population, &c. but want of leisure has hitherto prevented it. Some tabular statements will however be made hereafter, upon a plan somewhat different from the above, tending to shew the DANGEROUS consequences of a toleration of the system of negro slavery. The subject is truly alarming.

EDITOR.]

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.
RELIGIOUS PROFESSORS.

"If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his." *SR. PAUL.*

The everlasting conditions of men being a matter of infinite moment, the gracious Author of our being has done all to forward our spiritual and eternal interest that consist with the free moral agency with which men are endowed. And God being aware of the extreme deceitfulness of the human heart, and how it is wedded to the things of this world, has in his holy word laid down those marks whereby we may judge infallibly of being prepared, or not prepared, for a state of everlasting happiness.

One of the marks whereby we may know this, is the above text: "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his;" and, if any man die without the spirit of Christ, he will, doubtless, "perish everlastingly." Now in order to ascertain what is the spirit of

Christ, we must have recourse to his history recorded by the evangelists. Here we see illustrated in his life those divine doctrines which he taught as necessary to salvation. We behold him going about doing good, feeding the hungry, healing the diseased, raising the dead, giving sight to the blind, casting out devils, and giving peace to the burdened conscience, turning none away empty, who earnestly solicited his aid, and always employed to promote the welfare of men, both in time and eternity. How then does it come to pass that such members who profess to be followers, and to have the spirit of the gracious Redeemer, can yet continue to hold their fellow creatures in continual bondage, and deliver them down from father to son, without any compensation, or affording them time and means for the improvement of that immortal soul which is destined to exist for ever? How can he enjoy the holy religion of Jesus Christ, who clothes and feasts himself and family by what is produced from the toil and sweat of the poor Africans? How can they be joyful in the house of God, who have left their servants (such as receive no pay for it) at home to get in readiness a rich repast by the time they return? How can they enjoy the religion of Jesus, who refuse to submit to its very first dictates, "do justly and love mercy?" How can they be in the favour and friendship of the God of purity and justice, (who refused to redeem a lost world until that justice was both satisfied and magnified by the sufferings and death of the son of God) who live in the daily infringement of that sacred principle?

We may, when we see such characters profess religion, enquire with better founded astonishment than one of old, "how can these things be?"—Again, it is in accordance with the spirit of Christ, *to do unto others as we would they should do unto us.* Now is it not as clear as the sun, that every slaveholder is living in full violation of this sacred precept? and in doing this, how can he hope to be saved? Know ye not, saith the voice of inspiration, that the unjust shall not inherit the kingdom of God: and if the depriving a man of his liberty, is not unjust, then away with all pretensions of it from the earth. As great a crime as is that of keeping a fellow-creature in slavery without any compensa-

tion, yet we sometimes see those who practice it go forward, and with hands polluted with blood, and holding the wages of unrighteousness, lay hold on sacred things, and enter the sanctum sanctorum of the God of Love and Justice, and proclaim liberty to others, while they themselves are the slaves of corruption, being in bondage to their covetousness. O my God! cleanse thy sanctuary of its brazen faced intruders; and may they from thy long suffering, be led to repent, and to do justly, and love mercy.

As the practice of slavery is repugnant to the plain letter, as well as to the spirit of christianity, I cannot any more expect to see such as are engaged therein, enter into the holy city, where the unjust shall never enter, than a drunkard, railer, or extortioner: so fare ye well, as ye will not give up the gains of oppressions in this, look out to be damned in the world to come.

A Lover of Christianity.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

MR. EDITOR—I have waited some time in the expectation that you, or some of your correspondents, would notice a circumstance which occurred a short time since in this place, relative to the manumission of a family of slaves. I wished to acquire more information concerning it than I had been enabled to obtain, and did not doubt, for a moment, that the eagle-eyes of our Emancipators would have taken immediate cognizance of it. I was also of the opinion that their love of justice, and the disposition they have manifested to stem the torrent of prejudice, as regards the unfortunate victims of oppression in our country, would have induced them to enquire into the matter, so that the public might become acquainted with the truth connected therewith. But to the point.

At a late session of the Court of Common Pleas for Greene County, held in Greenville, I learn that a certain person went forward with a petition to be allowed the privilege of manumitting a number of slaves, at the same time offering the security which the laws of the state require—But, strange to tell, it seems that the court would not grant him the privilege!

I request some one to inform the public, through the medium of your paper, what were the motives which actuated

the Judges, or what were their ostensible reasons for rejecting said petition. Upon the nature of the answer to this request, depends the course I shall pursue, whether you will or will not hear from me again.

FABIUS.

[The only reason why this subject has not been noticed by me, is, that I also wanted a little more correct information relative to it than I have yet had.—More hereafter—Ed.]

A VOICE

FROM THE GREEN MOUNTAINS!

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

"You have among you many a purchas'd slave,

Which, like your Asses, and your Dogs and Mules,

You use in abject and in slavish parts,
Because you bought 'em."

To the reflecting mind, what on Earth can be more revolting, than the picture of a fellow being loaded with chains, immured in a loathsome dungeon, and, for a real or supposed crime, deprived of the pure air which freemen breathe? Nothing indeed, save the situation of those unfortunate beings, who are "cast in Nature's roughest mould," whose only crime is to have a complexion differing from ours, and for that "grievous fault" are torn from "their friends, their country, and their home," to drag out a life of misery and woe in foreign servitude.—Their misfortunes merit our commiseration.—

The evils of slavery being so universally acknowledged, was it not surprising that a large number of Representatives in Congress, three years ago, should have been so officious in the effort to extend the infernal traffic—and that a majority of them should have accepted the provisions of the Bill admitting Missouri into the Union?—"Those dark spots which disgraced her physiognomy, should have been effaced before she should have become a member of the great Federal Family."

Should slavery be tolerated in the new Western, and encouraged in the Southern States, I am constrained, however unwillingly, to believe, that "a storm will at no distant day, be produced from the Black-Cloud, which now lowers over that hemisphere of our Country."

Should my prediction be correct, depend upon it, "the North and East will not shrink from its rage."—New England will "stem the tide" of opposition, "with rusty sinews," and "Hearts of controversy"—rather than be swept together into the "gulph of Despotism."

In the Missouri contest, many of our Northern "Dough faced" politicians, with a false and impudent misnomer, styled themselves "REPUBLICANS,"—"FRIENDS TO LIBERTY"—and yet voted for the extension of slavery.—Such a course of conduct resembles the most cruel and unrelenting *Popes* that ever disgraced the annals of Romish superstition, who, having assumed to themselves the title of Clement or Innocent, proceed to prove their right to their appellations, by lighting the fires of the Inquisition, and putting to death with extreme torture, all who would not subscribe to their infallibility, and profess to believe in their detestable doctrines.

Some of the leading men of the South, as a last resort, threatened a dissolution of our Union, if their plans with regard to that question did not succeed.—I would have said—"A DISSOLUTION THEN." Regardless of consequences I would boldly assert my right.—"FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT CÆLUM"—"who so base that he would be a bondman?"—were they indeed so blind as to suppose a separation of the states would have been beneficial to them?—"united we stand,—divided they fall!"—

"Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, Slavery! still thou art a bitter draught." The people of the eastern states, know nothing of this "Traffic in human flesh." A slave or Negro, the moment he sets foot in New-England falls under the protection of our laws & is a FREEMAN."

"Liberty should reach every individual of a people, as they all share one common nature; and if it only spreads among particular branches, there had better be none at all, since such a liberty only aggravates the misfortune of those who are deprived of it, by setting before them a disagreeable subject of comparison."—Can it be supposed that these unfortunates who

"Toil in the sun, and groan beneath the scourge,
Draw from affliction's breezes every breath,
Their prospect misery—their refuge death!"—

will sink forever under the lash of servitude?—No—"vengeance only sleeps"—soon to waken with redoubled fury! "They are brooding over the most cruel injuries which one class of beings can inflict upon another class"—the late events of Charleston, shew that they can feel their wrongs. And unless a radical change be effected in the condition of those people, the fate of St. Domingo most assuredly awaits a portion of this *2* people.

BELLARA.

Green Mountains, Feb. 10th, 1823.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

NO. XI.

1822.

DEAR SOPHY.—Enviably is thy state of sequestration from the bubbles which agitate the human mind;—Enviably indeed is thy felicity in the rural shades of solitude, where the charms of nature satiate the contemplative mind, which traces the footsteps of Deity in the fields of creation; and from whence arises incidence of devotion to the author of harmony and order. Such a retreat seems to be a remove towards the angelic state; and when the mind lays hold on the high duty of exercising its functions, communion delightful will be held with its God. Nature's wants are few, and the pilgrim's lot of plain and simple regimen, is to be preferred to the dainty viands of the voluptuous, and the luxuries of the wealthy, which are mingled with disease, and followed by the arrows of death. Whence then the anxiety of man for accumulating those deceivers of the palate, which, while they flatter the taste, convey deadly poison to the vitals of the captive consumer, and lay him lifeless on the lap of his mother earth?—Untaught by nature and by nature's God, the voluptuaries feast. Wealth and splendor, are the envied stations of the mind of man:—to these he aspires with insatiable devotion,—eagerly grasping at the glittering prize, as if felicity eternal was at their disposal.

The world is in a state of continual fermentation—in pursuit of happiness, and mistaken in the road that leads to its temple, a thousand jarring passions oft distract the minds of men. Action produces reaction and man, by acting in opposition to that eternal rule of justice which is stamped on his immortal

reasoning faculty, generates in him, the retributive operation of vexation and remorse; and hence the disquietude and perturbation that is visible in the earth—suffering, and causing to suffer, are reciprocated in instances innumerable; so that to use the words of Solomon, “The misery of man is great upon him.” In confirmation of the effects produced by violating the rights of justice, I have been witness to a subject, serious in its nature, and sorrowful in its consequences,—similar to which, perhaps many hundreds of instances annually occur in our extensive country:—a certain gentleman who shall be nameless, considerably advanced in years, with a progeny of sons and daughters, and a *herd* of slaves; and who had been for several years a professor of religion, as well as a great pretender to republicanism, came to the end of his probationary career in this world, and was summoned by death, to try the realities of another! Previous to his final exit, and in the early stage of his last sickness, while his mind was in its full strength, he disposed of his worldly estate by will, and formally bequeathed his soul to God, its Creator, in hope of a glorious resurrection, and his earthly possessions, including his slaves, to his wife, and to the descendants of his loins. This gentleman who had acquired the greater part of his fortune by the labour, and by the increase of his slaves, which he had marketed, was frequently reminded before his death, of the injustice and antichristian practice of involuntary servitude; but his children having been raised in idleness upon their drudgery, and some of them much dissipated, his pride got the better of his reason and the remonstrances of his conscience, and in his last solemn act and deed which was cruelty in the extreme, bequeathed his slaves to his progeny to prevent some of them from embracing the gallows, and others from having to labour for a support. To give, in detail, all the particulars of this melancholy case, would exceed the bounds of a letter: suffice it to observe, that after the funeral, which was performed with great pomp and apparent solemnity, at which a sermon was preached by a clergyman of his own sect, setting forth the Christian virtues, and piety of the departed saint, in the most brilliant colours,—escorting the soul on the wings of clerical eloquence to its seat in the paradisaical mansions of rest, the will was read in the presence of numerous auditors. But what tongue can express, or what pen can delineate the contrasted emotions of the interested part of the listening audience; when on the part of the heirs, joyous exultation, sat predominant on each countenance, at the pleasing prospect of the enjoyment of a long desired estate, which for a moment made them forget the loss of a parent that had hazarded the consequences of Eternity to procure, at least a part of it, for them; whilst on the part of the slaves, grief and wild distraction were visible in the distorted muscles of the worn faces of those sons and daughters of affliction. The wringing of hands, with various other contortions of body, accompanied with briny tears, excited by bitter anticipation of painful separations soon to take place amongst them, with the most doleful shrieks and lamentations consequent on the violent parting of husbands and wives, parents and children, with every other connexion near and dear to rational creatures, saluted the assembly with heterogenous sight, and sound, until feeble nature was fully exhausted, and frantic grief terminated in hopeless anguish and silent gloomy despair!

That each of the heirs should receive value alike, the distribution of the slaves were fixed upon the rule of *quantity and quality*; and as this could not be effected without dividing families, the most painful divisions that human nature is capable of bearing, were unmercifully inflicted on this distracted herd of human beings. The heirs were separated at considerable distances from each other, and the divisions were so made, that the black husband had to go to one, and his wife to another; a part of the same family of children to one, and the rest to several others; parents and children promiscuously mixed to suit the estimated value set upon each with as little ceremony, or feeling of humanity, as if they in reality had been swine.

Painful as this separation was to the victims of pride and avarice, their situation is still precarious,—subdivisions and transferences may multiply among them as long as numbers and purchasers can be found; for those who have been inured from their childhood to the scenes of misery, which is concomitant with slavery, and have tasted of the sweets

of domination over their own species, lose the soothing powers of sympathy and their hearts too generally partake more of the nature of adamant, than of the softness of human sensibility. These poor creatures, now suffering under the mortal pang of final separation, may yet have to endure an increase of horror, by being transplanted into those hells upon earth to slaves, the sugar plantations, under the lash of tormenting overseers, as relentless as the Alligators, that infest their muddy swamps. Such are the effects of slavery, and such are the numerous melancholy instances in our highly professing republican and Christian country! Men, not content with the ordinary allotments of Providence, aspire at forbidden objects, make tools of their own kind to gain their ends, live voluptuously, and in pleasure, on the pain and labor of others, and then die and appear at the tremendous judgment seat, to render an account of the reasons they had for oppressing their fellow mortals, riveting the chains of bondage around their necks by their last wills and testaments, and thus consigning them and their posterity to endless vassalage, to glut the avaricious cravings of succeeding despots.

I observed that the deceased gentleman professed in his lifetime to be both a republican, and a Christian:—as man's voluntary actions are the indexes of their principles, it is evident that he was monarchial in his, and that too, of the most absolute and hereditary kind; for though his dominion was not large, yet his will was his law—he ruled his people with absolute sway, and finally bequeathed his dominion and crown to his heirs—**HE WAS NOT A REPUBLICAN!** As it respects his religion, I have but little to say to that:—I have never seen any thing, in the doctrines of the Gospel to sanction such proceedings;—as I found him in the hands of a merciful and just God, I shall there leave him. Yet I think that clergymen should be a little more cautious than some of them are, in canonizing men, unless the subjects of their eulogies were less blameable in their lives than some are.

Religion-professing slave holders, reflect!—You must die; and before you bequeath the bones and sinews of your black brethren to your children, place yourselves and your children, by anticipation, in the situation of the above delineated sorrowful family of injured fel-

low creatures, and then take as much time at least, as you should take to perform a solemn act of devotion, to judge how near your oppressors would have come to the *Golden rule*, had it been you and your families that had been disposed of in the manner above described! You know that injustice and cruelty would have attended the horrid deed;—If so, then beware!

Ah, my sister! little dost thou know, in thy peaceful, tho' humble retreat, of the pride, avarice, haughtiness, tyranny, and cruelty, of one part of the human race, and of the sufferings and miseries of another part, whose groans and sighs, in all probability, ascend to the throne of Jehovah, as the sound of many waters, and are there laid up in the magazines of vengeance, against a day of future reckoning.—Happy ignorance!

To relate all the oppressive and cruelties practised by those who call themselves Christians, on their fellow creatures, would make a quarto volume; but I shall draw a veil over the black catalogue for the present, and subscribe myself thy affectionate brother.

IRENEUS.

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

THE MODERN LISTENER.

To his Correspondent. No. X.

Sir.

I have for a long time been silent, not so much for the want of matter, or an inclination, but lack of opportunity, and several intervening occurrences, have been the principal causes of delay. My way being a little open and clear, I shall now take the liberty to address you in my usual style of plainness and familiarity. It is not long since I heard a minister preach a sermon, in which he touched very lightly and modestly, on the subject of involuntary slavery. The sermon I thought, was a tolerably well timed discourse; but what with the murmurings of the slave party, on account of his bringing the subject into view, and the dissatisfaction of the other party, because he said so little about it, I am afraid that the marrow of the discourse was lost. If the preacher aimed at pleasing the people, he was unaccountably mistaken; for such is the case, that if you only glance at slavery, you not only hurt those who are in the practice of it, but some, who tell you they are in favor of freedom, but that they are hurt, because

their slaveholding neighbors are hurt; while there are others, perhaps, whose mind goes before their knowledge, are hurt, because they think you do not strike hard enough—therefore, on this ground I say the preacher missed his aim, if his aim was to please.

Well Sir, the preacher after service meeting with a respectable acquaintance, whom he knew to be in the practice of slavery, and wishing to know what bearing his discourse had had on him, he interrogated him relative to it. The man humorously answered that it never grazed him, for, said he, "I did not believe a word you said on the subject, and moreover, said he, if I believed slavery to be a sin, I would throw the Bible out of doors; and further, he said you cannot make me believe that to be a sin, which the Bible sanctions." The preacher then wished to know of him, in what part of the holy Bible, slavery was sanctioned? His friend then cited to him the instances of Abraham's 318 servants, recorded *Gen. 14th*; and *Leviticus 25th*. It being no time, or place to enter into argument they parried awhile, then struck about, without coming to any final decision.

Now Sir, though listening would seem to be my main employment, yet it does not prevent my *thinking*; and I can assure you, that I have had a long chain of thoughts on that gentleman's strong hold for slavery. Some of the links of that chain I shall here bring into view: and first, a historian relating a matter of fact as having existed, is no proof of the general or particular lawfulness of that thing,—as for example, it is a matter of fact that Henry the eighth divorced his wife, in order to marry another; is this a good proof that all the kings of England, after him, have a right, as soon as they get tired of one wife, to get another?

To suppose the argument admissible, would be ludicrous. 1st—When the Inspired historian relates to us a naked fact, relative to Abraham being at the head of a little, though in that day, respectable Commonwealth affording the number of 318 efficient males, ready to defend their lives, property, and liberty, against an invading foe, and to afford help to a desolated Commonwealth, are we to suppose these servants of Abraham were in the condition of the slaves on our Continent? by no means:

for first, Abraham's servants were armed ready to defend their rights, and to avenge their wrongs; but such are the wrongs and privations of the slaves on our Continent, that it is considered good policy to enact laws to keep arms out of their hands. But 2d, Abraham's servants were trained or instructed, not only how to use their arms, but as a body ecclesiastical and political; (for in those days the two were blended,) the interest of one individual, was the interest of the whole body; and above all, they were instructed in the knowledge of the true God: Hence, Abraham, and his servants, acted in unison. Thirdly, Abraham was not afraid to head and lead forth his servants to scourge an offending foe, and to relieve an oppressed friend, a brother. And why? because he had never himself, nor yet by proxy, kicked, thumped, and beat those his servants, with whatever come in his way, for every trivial offence, nor lacerated their backs with the cow-hide, or the cart-whip. Neither had he sold the husband from the wife, nor the children from the parents, &c. Indeed it cannot be said that he had such a prerogative. But if any were refractory, and would not submit to order and decorum, they were banished from the commonwealth, as was Ishmael and Hagar. Thus Abraham had nothing to fear from his servants, but had every thing to hope, in confidence of their courage, good will, and fidelity.

O ye votaries of worse than Egyptian bondage! will ye dare to come forth at the head of your fifties, or hundreds of the sable descendants of Africa in time of danger? No, ye dare not! and why? Because ye have bereft them of almost every comfort in life, you have no confidence in them; and the decided preference (with some) is given, and a greater attention paid to a breeding mare, a sow, or a hound bitch, with whelps, than to the pregnant wife of one of those male slaves; this, together with the constant degraded state they are kept in, and the buffish, scornful, insulting language they are constantly saluted with, has destroyed all their confidence in you, and has blunted the edges or entirely destroyed every stimulus to laudable enterprise on your behalf, and therefore, you cannot trust such an insulted, such an injured people with arms; and instead of their being a mutual help in time of

invasion, and danger, they are counted with propriety, enemies in the midst of our country. And from whence does this hostility originate? not from their country, no, but entirely from the debased situation in which they are placed amongst us, and from the unchristian, unfeeling, and demoralizing practice of separating very friends,—that is, selling husbands from wives, and wives from husbands; children from parents, and parents from children; and you are aware of the just conclusions of those poor slaves, which is, that they cannot be worsted, if they should go over to an invading foe, whether Jew or Turk. Again, Abraham's servants were chiefly born in his own house; but where were your sable, sorrowful, dejected looking creatures born? some, perhaps, in Africa, who were stolen from their parents, or captivated in a murderous war, brought on by the instigation of the *whites*; I should need forgiveness, were I to add christians, therefore I omit it. Others, even born in different parts of this continent, who have also been torn from their bosom friends, for some tender relative: these you say, were bought with your money, as were some of Abraham's; but have you, like Abraham, incorporated them into your families, by the seal of the covenant?—Do you allow them all the immunities of, or in, the church, whereby they may be brought to a proper knowledge of their covenant relative to their God? Who amongst the numerous slave holders in our nation, have so instructed and educated their slaves, that they can freely, and with immense treasure, and suitable attendance, trust one of them to go into a neighbouring state, to seek, and to negotiate with a man of character, for a wife for their only sons, in expectation of success? Now, until these patrons of despotism, & mimickers of monarchy, can do this, I hope they will never bring in the enslaving of Abraham's 318 servants, to justify a practice which I am warranted in calling any thing but justice, humanity, or mercy—that is, I may call it any thing that is opposite to these three principles which ought to govern the good man.

But moreover, it is said that these servants of Abraham, were born in his *own house*: now I would ask what our slave holders would have us understand by this *own house*? Is the *big house*, or *master's house* in opposition to the *negro*

house or quarter? If so, I may justly infer, that when Abraham noticed that any of his females were pretty well advanced in pregnancy, he took them into the *big house*, and observed that they followed such employments, and had such things as were suited to their situation.—O ye who plead Abraham's example in justification of your usurpations of the just rights of your fellow beings, do you do as Abraham did? NO. I therefore turn from the *big house*, leaving the mistress of the castle near her lying-in, with every thing to comfort and cheer her under whatever may follow, from her present state, and make my way to the *negro house*. On my way thither, I see the male and female indiscriminately driven to any kind of labor; while pining melancholly, dejection, and despondency, are depicted in the countenances of those who are in the situation of their pampered mistress. Hence, a stupid sullenness, with a careless indifference whether they live or die, pervades the soul, and on this rests the cause of the dullness and stupidity of their offspring: but I turn myself away from these with a heavy heart, and move on pensively to what is called the *negro house or hut*; here I see a parcel of little dirty, naked things, who at my approach, turn, some this way, and some another, while the mother lies within on a *little straw*, with no kind hand to administer to her wants—no kind friend to condole her under her afflictions. Here she is left friendless and pitiless almost from one day's end to another, till perhaps, in a few days, death rids the world of both mother and babe; true, they are done with their troubles here, but will not their blood, like Abel's, cry for vengeance against their neglectors and abusers?

I now leave this melancholy part of the subject; and if any wish to know what we are to understand by "Abraham's own house," I shall point them to Jos. chap. 24, where, by *house* is meant family.—Also, 1st Samuel, chap. 2 and verse 13 and 14, and 3 chap. verse 27th &c. Moreover what is meant by the house of Israel; the house of Judah; the house of Saul; of David; of Bourbon, of Austria, &c. does it not mean a nation, a tribe, a family, &c. Such a house, I presume was Abraham's;—A little commonwealth, a large family, whose interests were reciprocal, and were united

as a body politic under Abraham as their leader and patriarch, to support that interest; and to strengthen this combination, and more effectually to support their government, and maintain their rights as men, it is not improbable, that out of the common revenue, Abraham bought some with money; but what ever started the shameful practice of one human being selling another, I am not now prepared to say; but that they did do it, appears to be as true, as that Cain murdered his brother, and I dare venture to say that the practice originated from the same principle that influenced Cain to kill his brother; but there is not the least shadow of a proof, that these bought servants, ever served Abraham or the community, without an equivalent. It is, however, not unreasonable to suppose that these servants attended to the more servile services of the community, until these services amounted in value to the sum advanced for them; and then, if not before, inducted into the community, by the right of circumcision; see Gen. chap. 17th, and from the same chapter, I gather, they had a choice,—if they submitted and received the right of circumcision, which was a seal of their faith in the God of Abraham, they then had a right to all the immunities of the whole community; but if they did not submit, they were cut off from the people—perhaps driven away to seek a people of their own cast, who did not believe, nor trust in the God of Abraham. Now Sir, I shall bring the two ends of this part of my chain together by a well known rule in logic, which is, that when an argument proves too much, it is not a good one—it is invalid—it proves nothing to the point it was intended; and this is exactly the colour, size, and strength of the argument of the slave party, when they say the sacred historian authentically informs us that Abraham, who was a good man, had servants born in his house, and bought with money, and therefore, “we may have slaves.” For the sacred historian as authentically informs us that the good man, Abraham, took into his bed, or at least that he had illicit intercourse with his maid servant; therefore, all slave holders have a right to have illicit intercourse with their maid slaves. And if we attend to another fact related by the sacred historian, (if the above argument of the slave party is good) it becomes the duty of all

those mistresses who have no children, to give their maid slaves to their husbands, after the example of good old *Sarah*. But again, the sacred historian gives us to understand, that Abraham and Sarah were both guilty of telling a lie when they went to Egypt, see Gen.—and moreover, that Noah was guilty of drunkenness; and that Lot got drunk and committed incest with his two daughters, and that Jacob had four wives, and David, a man after God’s own heart, had a number of wives and concubines; and that he took Uriah’s wife, and killed Uriah with the sword of the Amorites. But to cast a little more light on the subject, I shall conclude t’ number in the words of a late writer: he observes “that the Bible contains a faithful history of saints; it records equally their crimes, as well as their virtues, without condemnation of the first, or recommendation of the latter; concluding itself with a naked statement of facts,—leaving us to form our judgment about these facts, according to the doctrines and morality which it teaches elsewhere.” If the example of Bible saints may be pleaded as a justification of any notion, then we can justify lying, adultery, idolatry, and even murder—I add polygamy, incest, and drunkenness. The example of the saints as much justifies these crimes, as it does slavery; but point the place where Noah, David, Lot, Jacob, or Solomon, is commended for these things; then may you find a warrant in the oracles of God for slavery. Adieu, perhaps you may hear from me again before long.

I remain, yours, &c.

MODERN LISTENER.

Approved by the Inspecting }
Committee of the Manumission }
Society of Tenn. Dec. 14, 1822. }

For the Gen. of Universal Emancipation.

When I mix with my fellow citizens, and commune with them on the subject of slavery, I find few, very few, who do not deplore it as a great evil, and wish to get rid of it on almost any terms. I believe were the question put to the citizens of East Tennessee, “Shall slaves born after a given period, be free at a certain age?” nine out of ten would answer in the affirmative. Now, *since things are so*, why is it that our representatives in the state assembly refuse to give the subject a hearing in any shape?—If their constituents wish it,

why do they not do right? can it be that they fear they may be opposed by the minority, and that a few active enemies would do them more injury than many lukewarm friends would repair? Is their baseness in the representative hall on this subject owing to their dread of never getting back again? If I were convinced of this, and knew any one of them, I fear I should feel a disposition to "tweak him by the nose—pluck out his beard and blow it in his face."

I do not recollect to have seen in any emancipating paper, a plan like the following enlarged and insisted on, viz. gradual emancipation.

Let every master be compelled to school his negro children (say twelve months.) If he is not willing to raise and school them for the services they may perform before the age of freedom, he will find plenty of neighbors who will agree to do it. And let the orphan's court take charge of them, and dispose of them as they do with fatherless white children. But, says one, they will, when free, become lazy, corrupt, and thievish. I answer, let transportation be the punishment for their offences. We have seen in the first settling of America, and since that in New Holland, transported convicts, with their descendants, become industrious, wealthy, and enlightened citizens. The same would no doubt be the case at Sierra Leone.—Blacks, would there find respectability within their reach. Incentives to industry and sobriety would present themselves; whilst we at the same time are getting rid of the most troublesome part of the community.

MENTOR.

ERRATA.

In the last number of this paper, page 108, 2d column, 19th line from the bottom, for "*liberty*," read "*liberality*."

Page 109, 1st column, 16th line from the top, for "*pleasures*," read "*plumes*."

Subscribers will please correct these errors with a pen.

MUSES' BOWER,

And Miscellaneous Department.

Americans plead for the rights of mankind—

Of the bond-man as well as the free:

Unrivet the fetters of body and mind

Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

As thou, thyself, thy neighbor shalt thou love;
But, like the Doctor, wilt thou query who?
God, of one blood, all nations, kindreds, made,
That dwell upon the face of all the earth:
Then what is he that wears the sable hue,
But man. Made by that hand, which of the dust
Formed thee a living soul, in image his,
He claims to be redeem'd by that divine,
That sacred prince, who took upon himself,
To bear our crimes, to journey in our flesh,
Becrown'd with thorns, to die on Calvary's mount.
A death ignoble, for ignoble man:
Him who has marked the humble for his own,
Not high descent, nor fair vermilion hue,
The Jew, the Gentile, & the Heathen worlds,
Bought by his blood, & by his grace set free;
Are objects of paternal regard.
There freedom is to man a natural right,
A right to which no claim is paramount,
But tyranny and usurpation vile,
Have dared to bind, in abject servitude,
Whom rigorous fate has placed within their grasp!
And in the public marts proclaim aloud,
Like cattle, sheep or swine, the souls of men:
Immortal men as if like beasts no hope,
No intellect were theirs: no sense to feel
The parting pang, caused by parental love,
When death, grim tyrant, from their bosom tears
Their prattling joy, who oft their dotage shar'd.
We to the world announce all men as free,
Yet steal from Afric's shore her rustic sons:
O foulest act, of demons, not of men!
A crime detested, basest of the name;
Of which we tell mankind ourselves are free.
What! hold a market, raise a high demand,
Then plead ourselves not guilty of the stain?
So, when God call'd, in evening's cooling shade,
Where art thou Adam? & what hast thou done?
He knowing well the penalty incur'd,
And willing still to justify himself,
Straight cast the blame on Eve's devoted head;
She, on the serpent, who, she said, beguiled.
'Tis love of gold corrupts the human heart;—
Gold, the first cause of every act unjust:
For gold the robber in the thicket waits;
For gold the assassin stains his polished steel;
For gold the hell-born monster rushes forth,
Confines for life his neighbor impotent,
And breaks each sacred tie; from winter's frost

Derives the means, his shiv'ring frame to save:
A frame, but for its hue, 'twere vile to say,
Contains a soul not equal to his own.
If such his state, by reason privileged,
To knew a God, address his sacred throne,
And to be heard with a propitious ear,
How aggravated are their guilt and shame,
Who the material body bind in chains,
Keep down the faculties of nobler mind,
And thus disparage and corrupt the soul!
Where, uncontrol'd for pride such ample
range?

Where lustful passions, prejudice, revenge,
Such toleration know, such monstrous growth,
As in the arms of arbitrary right!
Oh slaves unhappy! your oppressors oft
Diffusive spread, o'er freedom's virgin face,
The scarlet blush, as if, unconscious she,
Could not behold such tortures you sustain!
Americans! can you forget the day
You fought & bled in freedom's sacred cause?
What were your wrongs to those of Afric's
sons?

Cæsar demanded tribute of your rights:
To Cæsar tribute you refused to pay,
Yet Afric's sons, as you are born as free,
Do unto them, as you'd have them to you,
Let not Mahometan or Pagan name,
Cortez, Pizarro, monsters drunk with blood,
Of the rude sons of savage Mexico,
Boast more humanity than he who wears
The royal badge of Christ immaculate.
A suppliant now, on bended knees, invoke
The sovereign aid of the anointed Lord;
By his right hand a knotted scourge is laid,
And lo! his brother groans beneath his chains!
"Hallowed, O Father! be thy holy name!
Thy kingdom come, on earth thy will be done!"
But how is he unconscious of his wrong,
When thus the will of Heaven's eternal king,
Is written on the tablet of his heart,
As by the christian's oracle announced?
If, at the birth of the incarnate lamb,
The host angelic thus proclaimed his reign,
"Glory exalted, praises to our God,
Let there be peace on earth, good will to men,"
Which to all nations, kindreds, shall extend:
Tho' as a bulrush, thou thy head hang down,
Tho' as a trumpet, thou exalt thy voice,
Vain thy oblation, vain thy every act,
Without a heart conformable thereto.
Where is the stranger? is he unoppress'd,
Who journeys with thee thro' a foreign land?
Now mark the answer, hear the vain excuse,
By int'rest prompted, not by reason's voice,
"Tis selfish int'rest, not the general good,
An int'rest too which strikes at freedom's
cause,
And which, ere long, may dye her robes in
blood!

Behold, O Lord! I found him sav-
age, wild,
Small sense of thee, or of thy holy
name,
As if in error's mazes he were left,
Ruthless in nature, of complexion
black,
Hence in my service him I have de-
tained,
To toil and drudge, my mind from
care to free,
Thy heavenly will more fully to
perform,
And him to teach of wisdom's sa-
cred way,
And of thy boundless love to fellow
man.
Again the sacred Oracle replies,
The great first cause, who, by his
word, made all;
Who said "let there be light, and
light there was,"
Is, in his power, by his power sworn,
The only righteous judge of quick
and dead,
Who then call'd thee, thou dust cre-
ated worm,
To judge 'tween him and aught that
he has made?
The light he gave him, was it not
enough,
Does he require, even of earth's
meanest sons,
More than ability is given to per-
form?
Behold the sacrifice which he ac-
cepts!
Is it not this, a contrite, humble
heart,
A heart that from the pondrous
burden saves,
Frees the oppressed, that breaks the
heavy yoke,
The hungry feeds, and to the poor
distress'd
Administers the balm of kind relief?
HUMANITAS.

THE HUMANE PROTECTING SOCIETY.

James Jones, Isaiah Jones, James
Galbreath and Abner Frazer, at
present compose the Acting Com-
mittee of this Association: and
James Jones, of Greene County, in
this State, is the Corresponding Se-
cretary.

Stated meetings, on the 3d 2d days
(Mondays) in the 2d, 5th, 8th, and
11th months.

Piut Justitia Ruat Cælum.

The Black List.

THE DETESTABLE TRAFFIC.

It is said that a slave trader, alias, a *soul peddler*, of the name of THOMPSON, lately took a considerable number of men and women from Washington county in this State (Never should the name be associated with the deed!) to Alabama, to sell.—But owing to the present depression in the sales of cotton, it is doubtful whether the most of the slave holders in that part of the country will be able to pay for those which they have hitherto purchased on credit. Report says that a woman, which this fellow took with him, has killed herself by the use of ardent spirits, to which she had been somewhat addicted; and that he will be greatly the loser in his present trip. I shall be truly glad to learn that this last actually turns out to be the case. The prayers of the virtuous must ever be, that success may never attend an enterprise of the kind.

A writer in the Delaware Gazette, speaking of the "slave trade," as carried on between that part of the country and the South West, says that a friend of his, lately saw a drove of about 150 on the United States' turnpike, going towards Wheeling in Virginia, where they are put on board of boats to be taken by water to the *Negro Colony*, on the gulph of Mexico.

In Nantucket, some fellows from the South attempted lately to carry off a

family of blacks, "*sans ceremonie*," but were soon compelled to desist.

There is now in this county, a black man who was once held as a slave by an elderly lady in Ann-Arundel county, Maryland. In her Will, she stipulated that he should be free at a certain age; but before the time expired, she died, and the black man fell into the hands of others, who had him transported out of the state, in the face of the laws thereof, and brought to East Tennessee, where he was sold as a slave for life. In this situation he was held *five years* after he was entitled to his freedom by law. At length he made his escape, knowing that the period which had been allotted him to serve, had long since transpired, and hired himself to another person. It is now understood that the wretch who had his services five years after he was legally free, of which he had a thorough knowledge, has got a set of irons prepared, and has sent him a *peaceable* invitation to come and see him. If he can get him, it is believed he intends sending him to *New St. Domingo*, alias, Louisiana.—But let the creature take care how he proceeds in this case—the eyes of an *Argus* are upon him. Neither kidnappers, nor any of their kindred, will be permitted to practice their villany with impunity, in this part of the country in future. Their hey-day is past, and they had best betake themselves to some honest employment.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." — *Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 9. Vol. II.

THIRD MONTH, 28, 1823.

WHOLE No. 21.

The *Genius of Universal Emancipation* will hereafter be printed in half sheets, (in the form of the present number,) and issued every other week. The principal reasons for making this alteration, as respects the time of publication, are, that it will doubtless have a greater tendency to engage the public attention, by producing a more lively interest in the cause of Emancipation, than it may be expected to, if published but once in four weeks; and also, that it suits my own convenience much better. The postage on the papers, sent by mail, will in consequence, be increased in a trifling degree; but subscribers will, on the other hand, receive sixteen more pages than heretofore, in each volume.—And I cannot doubt, for a moment, that nearly all will view it as best calculated to effect the object for which it is designed, under the present regulations. The price will not be enhanced, to those who pay in advance;—but such as neglect payment until the end of the year, will in future be charged *One dollar & fifty cents per annum.*

RELIGIOUS PROFESSORS!

In the interesting letter of "Ireneus to Sophronia," inserted in the present Number, the following is submitted to the consideration of *Religious professing Slaveholders.*—(See page 134.)

"If all the righteous blood which had been shed upon the earth, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zacharias, who perished between the Temple and the Altar, was required of the Jews, living at the time of the incarnation of Christ, I am persuaded that our holders of slaves, and traders in human flesh, had need tremble at the heavy demand which eternal justice may yet make on them for those rivers of blood which shall be found in their skirts!"

I hope the length of these letters will deter no one from giving them an attentive perusal. The author is certainly possessed of an ardent and persevering mind; as well as a deep, profound, and thorough knowledge of human nature. His language is nervous, bold & discriminating; and it will not be too much to say, that few, if any, appear to be more strongly attached to ear-

republican institutions, or the vital principles of the Christian religion, than he is.

A certain learned *Judge* of one of the Courts in this State was heard to say, not long since, that *If the Slavery of the negroes cannot be justified, the Bible must be laid aside;*—or something to that effect.—It is also said that he has *written* a few pages on the subject; but tho' (I believe) he has been strongly importuned to publish it, and is now so far out of the reach of the people that the fickle breezes of *popularity* cannot affect him, he DARE NOT let his sentiments go forth in print. To this gentleman, I recommend a serious perusal of the letters of "Ireneus;" and if he will apply for them, he shall be presented with a file of the paper containing them.

ELECTIONS. No. I.

Next to life itself, nothing is more dear to man than liberty. The means of preserving it, when fairly possessed, should be no less an object of anxious solicitude, and should always be as sedulously employed, as that of obtaining it; when entirely deprived of the pleasures attending it. Of the various forms of government instituted among men, none of their provisions seem so well calculated to answer this great and important purpose as the *elective franchise*. It serves as a rein in the hands of every one interested, to curb the factious, aspiring demagogue; to confine the fickle-minded, and the wavering, within proper bounds; and to guide the ignorant, who may chance to wield the sceptre of influence, in the path of duty. When corruptions have crept into the body politic; when the social system has become diseased, and the hectic flush denotes its feverish state, what is so well calculated to administer a wholesome purgative, or a healthful anodyne, and restore its pristine vigor, as the valuable ingredients procured from the Ballot box?

But in vain may we expect to profit by its many virtues; in vain may we look for the benefits we anticipate, as likely to result from it, if we do not guard well the avenues that lead to it. It may, emphatically speaking be viewed as an engine for the preservation and the perpetuity of our liberties; but which may be easily converted

into an instrument for their certain destruction. There is no subject whatever, which relates solely to our earthly condition, that is of more importance than this; and it ought never, in any case to be trifled with. If we suffer ourselves to grow negligent, and fail to exercise a watchful vigilance over it; if we permit the unhallowed footsteps of corruption to mark its threshold; if we allow it to be polluted even by the breath of depravity; we shall soon become the wretched victims of our own folly, and bitterly regret the state of things that will inevitably ensue.

The grand difference between the state and condition of the citizens of this republic and that of the subjects of European despotisms consists in the enjoyment of that important privilege,—that inestimable boon, which was handed to us from our fathers. The only condition upon which it was bequeathed to us, is, that we preserve it free from contamination, and transmit it down, in the same state of purity, to our children. We are not prohibited from improving it, for our own, as well as for their use, but we are bound in the most solemn manner, first, by filial duty, and secondly, by parental regard, to use our best exertions to prevent its deterioration.

This being premised, it may next be proper to enquire whether we have uniformly been guided by these considerations, and how far we have supported the principles and maxims here advocated.—The examination of that point will be attended to in a future Number.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE EDITOR.

I was not a little surprised on noticing in the 4th Number of thy paper, the remarks of a writer who tries to palliate, and to justify the continuance of slavery by quoting some of the writings in the New Testament. This appears to me as inconsistent as to attempt to mingle light and darkness together.

The Apostle in several of his epistles, admonishes "Servants to be obedient to their masters;" and in one or more places is very precise in this respect, expressing himself thus.

"Servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, with singleness of heart as unto Christ, not with eye service as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, with good-will, doing service as to the Lord and

not to men: knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond or free."

"Doing the will of God from the heart," implies the will of God they should serve them that were their masters at that time; Yet I conceive this makes nothing in his favour unless he is disposed to affirm that the servants he thus admonished, were in a similar situation to those deeply injured descendants of Africa, in this land of boasted freedom. But I am inclined to believe the servants here spoken to, were *hired*; from his advice to their masters in the next verse—viz. "and ye masters do the same thing unto them forbearing threatening: knowing that your master is also in Heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him."—(Eph. Chap. 6, Ver. 9.) And again, "masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal." (Col's 4 Chap. 1 Ver.) But how, or in what way, do you, slave holders give unto these (you are wont to call your servants,) that which is just and equal," when you wrest their labour from them, and make them no restitution, nor yet allow them nourishment enough to support nature comfortably, and still less clothing? Is this giving unto them that which is "just and equal?" If so, then you may profit by Paul's advice to the servants of his day: and admonish them to be obedient, and serve you, for, in that case, it is their duty.—But hear the language of James—viz. "The labourers which have reaped down your fields, and whose hire you have kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cry of them which reaped is entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." (Jam: 5 Chap. 4 Verse.)—And did he not warn them of their sorrows then hastening? I am inclined to think that this, or any other writer, will be put to a stand to produce any of the apostles writings, (unless evidently misapplied,) in favour of so horrible a practice. If he will search the Bible he may find many, very many, passages which will carry a manifest contradiction to the right of exercising Lordship over one another, and some in favour of making *servants* of their fellow creatures, but they were obliged to treat them kindly, and not oppress them.

But since *Christ has come*, and introduced a more glorious dispensation than that of the Mosaiac code, it is required of us, to "Love our neighbors as ourselves." See his answer to the question, Who is my neighbour? (*Matte, 10 Chap. 29 Verses*) And again "I

say unto you, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the Prophets." Here he sums up the matter in a few words, all that went before was to bring us unto this, and this we cannot fulfill as long as there is a disposition reigning in us that would oppress any.

A Friend of the Distressed.

[The above is from a female pen. I should be pleased if some of our slave-holding professors would undertake to defend their principles, by answering it. This, however, it is believed they dare not attempt to do.]

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
OBSERVATIONS ON THE LATE PLOT AT CHARLESTON.

I have read some account, in a late paper, of an insurrection at Charleston, S. C. by the negroes of that place. The writer mentioned that certain black men, by the names of Vessey, Monday, &c. were the "ring-leaders" in the plot; and after expressing some pleasure in its being in the power of the people of Charleston, to punish, with death, the principal offenders, goes on to glory in the consideration, that "We are powerful enough to punish, whatever THEY are vile enough to plan!" I do not wish it to be understood that I am about to justify the conduct of these negroes; I by no means approve the plot, but have the utmost aversion to any thing of the kind; yet I must confess that this expression struck me with some weight, and introduced me into serious consideration on the subject; and believing that my fellow citizens, as well as myself, may take a useful hint from the circumstance, I have noted down the result of my reflections.

I immediately turned to the declaration of independence, in 1776; and, on perusing it, I found that the united Colonies complained of the King of England, as a tyrannical oppressor, in that of appointing rulers of his own choosing; deciding causes of himself; neglecting a proper attention to their complaints; imposing heavy taxes, without consent of the people, &c. &c.—They said, moreover, that he was a prince who was not fit to bear rule over such a people. I found that in consideration of these, and other things of a similar nature, they felt themselves fully justifiable in taking up arms, and fighting for their LIBERTY. Fighting against whom? against their brethren, in every sense of the word; brethren of the same blood, of

the same colour, of the same professions, of the same religion. For what reason did they thus break through the laws of moral rectitude? Because they declared, that "FREEDOM is the NATURAL right of ALL men," (the truth of which I have never heard disputed by any reasonable authority.) Well, I thought, are we republicans, possessed of the same love of liberty, that we were possessed of in 1776? For, after several years' conflict, and the loss of much blood and treasure, freedom was obtained, and the heroes who fell a sacrifice for the country, or who distinguished themselves by their good policy in warfare, were renowned by the historians; poets sung their praises; and great firing and parade was made in every part of the Republic, where they chanced to make their appearance: and yet because a few black men, mostly under greater oppression from individuals, now in these days, made some arrangements for gaining their liberty, they were executed, with very little consideration.

Perhaps some may think their slaves in as happy situations as though they were free. But the proper way to discover the error of this opinion may be to suppose ourselves enslaved by some inhuman pirates, and sold to the Algerines or Arabs, who might think themselves pretty clever fellows: in this situation we should reflect, that we, and our offspring perhaps, were doomed to drag out wretched lives of miserable slavery, and that of this there was not likely to be an end unless the righteous interposition of Heaven should take place. We will go on to suppose, that, accordingly, we should wear out a short life of the greatest human wretchedness; and death itself would be a relief. Our offspring grow up, and in the greatest degree of ignorance; and having never seen any of their description in the possession of any thing that was real enjoyment, they would, in that debased situation, readily conclude, that if their iron-hearted oppressors would only use them well, that is, hide their nakedness, give them a moderate portion of victuals, and not oppress them too much with labour, they would as willingly be slaves as free: especially as their masters had found it to their interest to persuade them that they were better off in that situation than in a state of freedom. In this situation of things, suppose the Congress of the United States to take these poor creatures, whom we have supposed in Africa, to the country of their forefathers, give them a moral and christian, as well as scientific

education; and suffer them to enjoy, amongst men, the liberty of men; and if one in ten thousand would prefer slavery in Africa to this state, then I am ignorant. In the same manner, let any master in the U. States educate his slave, transport him to a region where he can enjoy the common liberty of a free country; and if after being placed in this situation, he prefers a state of ignorance and servitude, I shall again confess my ignorance.

But to return to the plot: I have no doubt that Moses was considered as a very disadvantageous personage by the Egyptians, and if he had undertaken a scheme for the relief of the Israelites, similar to that which the negroes of the south undertook, he would, in all probability, have been executed with as little ceremony as those negroes were. But, as the time appointed by Providence for the release of the Israelites had come; and, as he went about it in a way ordered by Providence, he succeeded. So, as Providence is pleased to indulge wonderful sinners a while longer, who hold his children in bondage, and as the conspirators did not go about it in a right manner, the citizens of the South were permitted, *once more*, to escape the impending destruction, and to punish the *offended*; and not only to punish them with death, but to glory in the consideration, that "*We are powerful enough to punish whatever they are vile enough to plan!*"

If the reports of the Marshalls be correct, the blacks are in some places, more numerous than the whites; and as the climate suits their constitutions better, their increase will, likely, be greater. So it appears that it will not be long before the negroes will lack nothing but another "ring-leader" to massacre us all on the spot. It is said by some, in objection to this sentiment, that there are always some slaves, whose attachment to their owners is so great, that no plot can ever go into effect without discovery; and that a state of long servitude has debased them in such a manner, that they are not qualified to ascend into power; thus indulging a vain hope, that their safety is fully established. But they who reason thus, argue as if there was no God in the world. Do we expect, that by debasing the minds of the slaves, and confining them to hard servitude, in such manner as to prevent any improvement, we can prevent the judgments of the Almighty from overtaking us? If so, then it would be good policy for all to pass laws, as some of our slave states have done, to prevent

scientific knowledge. But such unreasonable restrictions as these, go only to increase our own guilt, and hasten the day, which we may wish never to see! Do we expect that the justice of God will sleep forever? or do we think him unable to punish us? In either case I think we shall be mistaken; and, unless a speedy repentance, and a great change in the conduct of slaveholders towards their slaves, take place, they will, if they escape the punishment of an insurrection during their short stay on earth, not escape the horrors of a guilty conscience in an Eternal World!

JOHN.

For the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.
IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.
NO. XII.

MY VERY AFFECTIONATE SISTER—

In a former communication I gave it as my opinion, that *slaveholding, by men who profess to be the disciples of Christ, and heirs of eternal happiness*, is one of the most powerful means which is used by the *prince of darkness*, to prevent the removal of that heavy curse from our Country of boasted freedom; and that it contributes more to the encouragement of other iniquitous practices, than anything else, if we except *Avarice*, which is, I presume, the great legitimate parent of all the oppressions that have ever existed on earth, among both *Saints and Sinners!*

To see men holding their fellow men in a state of entire vassalage, who call themselves *republicans*, acknowledge the rights of man, as expressed in the declaration of our National Independence, and boast to all the world of American freedom, is to see a contradiction between *profession and practice*, but when we see men unblushingly hold their species in perpetual slavery, who not only acknowledge this, but profess to be the humble, meek, and self-denying followers of the Lamb,—and some of them dignified too, with the sacred office of the Ministry, proclaiming themselves heralds of salvation to fallen man; and publicly minister in holy things, is to see, in my humble opinion, Antichrist equipped with every apprentage calculated to render his deformity not only complete, but conspicuous, even to a perblinded observer. What a subject of astonishment to superior intelligences, to behold those men standing in the sacred pulpit, pretending Heavenly commission and warning others of the consequences of sin, whilst themselves are violently holding numbers of their own

brethren of the human race, who stand as high in the scale of being as they do, in worse than Algerine bondage; living in affluence on the toil and sweat of unlettered unformed, degraded, fellow mortals; and while by their words they are warning sinners to forsake their wickedness, they are, by example, emphatically saying to them: "Be ye followers of us, as ye have us for an ensample," and *oppress your fellow men, as we also do!*

Thus the hands of evil doers are strengthened, and the *Idol, Slavery supported*. Though *Tyrannus Clericus* is the owner of several slaves, yet he ascends the sacred desk with all the importance of a *prelate*, without any apparent compunction for his injustice i. extorting the labour, earnings, and sweat, of the whole lifetime of a part of the Redeemer's blood, and with the zeal of a Missionary, warns his listening audience to flee from the wrath to come, and assumes the divine authority of offering them pardon and salvation through the merits of Christ; though slavery has never yet made any part of his catalogue of crimes! Should *Tyrannus Clericus* take it into his head to adopt the language of Paul, and inform his hearers that he was "*Crucified to the world*," the people would need no other criterion than his manner of life, to judge the correctness or incorrectness of his assertions.

The slaveholding part of *Tyrannus' congregation*, with others of opposite characters and opinions, listen to him with the most profound attention, and many of them seem to devour his doctrines with as much avidity, as ever the swine did the husks, recorded in the parable of the prodigal son.

When *Tyrannus* has finished his public orations, suited to the Sacramental occasion, which he frequently administers, he descends and takes his stand at the head of the communion table, and there, administers the consecrated elements, as symbols of the broken body, and shed blood of the crucified saviour, to the communicants, slave holders, and others, as an act of the most solemn devotion; and this he does with hands defiled with the gain of oppression!—that blood-stained oppression, whose introduction into our country, was procured by the sorrows, the groans, the heart-rending throes, and premature death of many thousands of inoffensive fellow beings, and by a long train of hereditary vassalage and misery; some of these descendants of the surviving victims of avarice and cruelty, have come into his possession, to minister to his ease and luxury, and improvement, in any literary or

ury, and are living testimonials of his anti-christian life.

But the mystery to me is, how religious men and women, who are conscientiously opposed to slavery, can reconcile their receiving the sacrament at such hands with consistency, which many of them do without hesitation; or how they can bid God speed to such preachers by attending on their ministry, without incurring guilt, I cannot imagine. Surely some uncommon stupor, or moral lethargy has pervaded their minds! These last, strengthen the hands of professors in slave-holding, by keeping them in their religious societies, suffering such to preach, and by attending on their ministry, and receiving the sacrament when they administer it; and those preachers &c. support non professors in the horrid deed; so that, directly, and indirectly, the system is supported by a *religious, double prop!* Whereas, if instead of encouraging the inhuman practice of slavery by keeping slave-holders, and slaveholding preachers in church-fellowship, the different religious societies would purify their churches by excommunicating such members, and refuse any more of the kind an admission into them in future, it could not be long before the disgraceful stain to religion, and politics, would be wiped away from our nation.

The Apostle Paul, in the V Chapter and 11th verse of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, has strictly forbidden christians to keep company, or even to eat with certain characters therein named, (though they be called brothers) among which, *Extortioners* are one: now as the word *extortion*, imports *wresting or forcing*, it is evident that *slaveholding* is one of the *highest degrees of extortion*; for it was begun by *violently wresting from men and women their unalienable right to freedom*, and it is still maintained by like compulsory measures. How many millions of the unhappy, unfreeing Africans have had their native right of liberty, and all opportunities of pursuing happiness, *extorted or wrested* from them by christian professing men, and torn from their native home and all its endearing felicities, into a state of unconditional, degrading vassalage, to drag out the remains of a painful existence in sorrow, want, and woe, with all their succeeding posterity, to contribute to the pride and aggrandizement of many who profess to be the adopted heirs of eternal salvation, as well as those who make no pretensions to religion!

Nor do I consider the present traffickers

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

in, and holders of the descendants of the imported human victims, sacrificed at the bloody shrine of avarice, to be clear of the *blood-guiltiness* of the first kidnappers and importers, seeing they justify them in the horrid deed, by willingly partaking of the spoil! And if all the righteous blood which had been shed upon the earth, from the blood of *Abel* to the blood of *Zacharias*, who perished between the temple & the altar, was required of the Jews, living at the time of the incarnation of Christ, I am persuaded that our holders of slaves, and traders in human flesh, had need tremble at the heavy demand which Eternal Justice may yet make on them for those rivers of African blood which shall be found in their skirts! It is evident to me, that all that are willingly interested in the profits arising from the horrid system, whether by traffic, labor, donation, or in any other way, are abettors of, and accomplices in the original crime, and yet (but tell it not in Hindostan, nor in the South Sea Islands, lest they call us hypocrites!) some of these very men, preachers, as well as others, pretend to be the genuine followers of Him that said; "Love thy neighbour as thyself"—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye also even the same to them" &c. but the tree is known by its fruits. The most of our *slaveholding ministers of righteousness*, are very zealous in enforcing on their *white* hearers, the command of Christ to "search the Scriptures," and yet are saying by their conduct, as the Legislatures of some of the states have said by their legislative acts,—our slaves shall not obey that command, for they shall not be learned to read. And as there is a blessing pronounced in the first chapter of Revelation on such as read and understand the prophecy of that book, these clergymen who refuse to learn their slaves to read, and the above Legislatures, as good as say, that if the salvation of their slaves depends on the reading and understanding of the prophecy, and on "searching the Scriptures," that they shall be eternally lost, for instruction they shall not obtain!

While these clerical *Behans* with the accursed thing in their tents, are quietly suffering to pollute the priestly office, the "Amalekites," or, to drop the figure, corruptions, will prevail, until religion shall be buried under the rubbish of avarice and cupidity, and devotional exercises becomes a mere farce!

How long conscientious professors will continue to wound the cause of religion by attending on their ministry, or when they

will awake so as to see the necessity of investigating for themselves in eternal things, I know not, but it is evident to me, that the case loudly calls for some efficient means to be used, for the removal of these enormous stumbling blocks from the Christian Church! Some of them undertake, by wresting the scriptures to justify the practice, though but few of them of late, have ventured out in the public prints in its defence; whilst those who make no pretensions to religion, generally content themselves in reaping the profits of slavery without controverting the subject, being safely sorted from the arrows of guilt, behind religious slaveholding clergymen and others. One case, however, has occurred in the course of my travels, in which the *lowest grade of foul-mouthed vulgarity, billingsgate, ribaldry and threatnings with the law*, were the arguments used by a non professor of religion, against the friends of human rights; and by one that would wish to be ranked in the class of gentlemen, though his language was too vulgar to proceed from the mouth of a decent slave.

But notwithstanding the mighty grasp which avaricious men have taken on the bloody chain that binds the sable sons and daughters of bondage, and the unwillingness of many to loose the tiger-like grip, yet the prospects of the African Jubilee are brightening in the world, and the day star of their deliverance seems to have risen above the horizon. The groans of the oppressed have reached the lofty heavens, and the sighs of the afflicted have pierced the chrystal vaulted skies; and an Angel of Consolation has descended to the earth, to soften the adamant heart of man, and to inspire him with a spirit of philanthropy and humane sensibility. The slaveholders, of humane principles, have become weary of holding the chain, and are praying for deliverance. The Heavenly Cherub has gone forth among the people, and the public mind is moved with commiseration for the suffering victims. The nations are combined to put a stop to the infernal traffic, and to restore, in part, the rights of man. The southern climes of the new world have decreed the mandate of freedom to the sunburnt race, which are in their borders; and thousands in the northern, hail the auspicious event, and are praying for its accomplishment in their own dominions.

Nor has African Slavery alone, attracted the attention of the world of mankind, but the usurped tyranny of kings and priests, is growing out of repute; and from

Plat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

present appearances, I venture to look forward with pleasing anticipation to a time not very far distant, when the rights of man shall be universally acknowledged in the civilized world; and when every monarch shall be deprived of his throne by long provoked Providence, whether he be the governing *Emperor* of fifty millions of people, the *King* of twenty millions of subjects, or the ruling *Despot* over from one to a thousand African Slaves.

Thy affectionate brother.

IRENEUS.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO THE EDITOR.

As I was contemplating on the ways of mankind, I took up my bible and opened on these words: "Lord how long shall the wicked triumph, they break in pieces thy people, O Lord, and afflict thine heritage; yet they say the Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it." This, thought I, is the language of too many slave holders in our day: they say "the Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it." Again it is written, "rob not the poor because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the gate, for the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoiled them."

Now if keeping our fellow mortals in a state of involuntary servitude is not "robbing the poor," I am at a loss to know what robbery is. If it is not "oppressing the afflicted," I know not what oppression is. But it ought to be borne in mind that there be none now to plead their cause, yet the Lord, the great I Am, will in his own good time, take their cause into his own hands; and "he will spoil the soul of those that spoiled them." An eminent author observes. "Every ramification of the doctrine that one rational creature can become the property of another, is totally repugnant to the rule of equity, the rights of nature, and the existence of civil society. Terrestrial governments are established for no other purpose than to execute the divine will, to secure our individual immunities, and to promote the harmony and prosperity of those whose national affairs they direct: hence, the atrocious crime for which the men of 1776 declared George the third a tyrant, and unworthy to reign over a free people, may be retorted upon themselves; and with the additional obligation that results from their own censures attached to its perpetration."

But some have been bold to assert, even contrary to their own better judgment, that those proceedings did not interest them (the slaves) in any way. I would say to such, were you placed in their situation, would you not think it right, would you not think it humane, would you not think it actually the part of christians, to use all lawful endeavours to restore you to your liberty? yea, would you not think it their *reasonable* duty? As it is written: sow to yourselves in righteousness, and reap in mercy.

It is time to seek the Lord, for remember, "he hath shewn thee O man, what is good, and what the Lord requireth of thee—but to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God."

I would wish to say to slave holders, who live in the spirit and practice of slavery; that God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, when the secrets of all hearts shall there be disclosed, and your blackest midnight crimes will be there unfolded: your sins will all be brought forward and arrayed against you. Do you think you will be able to stand in that great and terrible day of the Lord?

Can your slaves then protect you; can they then administer to your necessities; can they save you from the gaping pit of destruction; can you then, in that trying moment, put them between yourselves and danger; will they hide you from the frowns of an angry God; can they keep you out of the pit where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched? If conscience answers in the reverse, it is then high time for you to awake from sleep; it is time for you to turn from your impious work of tyranny, and tremble at the awful storm of divine wrath that is hanging over your guilty heads, and repent in sackcloth and ashes. For behold ye who have been exalted to the heavens, shall be cast down to hell. The final period of your crimes is rapidly approaching.—We trust the grand Millenium is at hand, when tyranny and all its attendants shall be buried in ruins; O my christian brethren let us join in fervent supplication at the throne of grace; that God would devise some means by which the flinty and obdurate hearts of slave holding tyrants may be softened, that they may "break every yoke, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free." O ye oppressors, God shall shoot at you with an arrow, suddenly shall you be wounded; and if you will not repent of this

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your wickedness, he will say of you as was said of Belshazzar, "he is joined to his idols, —let him alone."

We are placed here to execute the divine will. We are commanded to "do unto all men as we would they should do unto us." Were we placed in their situation, could we wish them that might have it in their power to do something in behalf of suffering humanity to sit neutral?

Some have said that such a plan can never be effected; that it is not lawful, that it is not reasonable, that it should be done. They say they found the custom and did not make it; that it ever has been a custom and ever will be; and that it was so ordered that one man should become the property of another! I know a man that holds these sentiments, and others still more erroneous; but as I do not wish to cast any aspersion on individuals I only add, that if he or any other person thinks slavery is consistent with the Old or New Testament, or even with our own constitution, or the rights of man, I dare him to put his thoughts on the subject in print.

I am truly astonished that there is so many advocates for slavery, and yet that not one has the assurance to take up his pen in defence of their cause. But it is evident that they are either afraid or ashamed to let their sentiments be read before the public.

FREDONIA.

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Tear out the fetters of body and mind,
Nurture the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO THE EDITOR.

Having had the pleasure of perusing a few Numbers of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, I have taken the liberty to send you the enclosed selection of poetry, thinking it suitable for a place in your useful work, if it has not already graced its columns. As an advocate of the Universal inalienable rights of man, believe me your assured friend &c.

B.

DEATH OF ALICO.

An African slave condemned for rebellion, in Jamaica, 1762.

BY BRYANT EDWARDS ESQ. OF JAMAICA.

'Tis past—ah calm thy cares to rest!
Firm and unmoved am I:
In freedom's cause I bared my breast,
In freedom's cause I die!

Ah stop!—thou dost me fatal wrong:—

Nature will yet rebel;

For I have loved thee very long,

And loved thee very well."

To native skies and peaceful bowers,

I soon shall wing my way;

Where joy shall lead the circling hours,

Unless too long they stay!

O speed fair Sun! thy course divine!

My Abala remove.—

There thy bright beams shall ever shine;

And I forever love;

On these blest shores—a slave no more!

In peaceful ease I'll stray;

Or roam to chase the mountain-bear,

As unconfin'd as day!

No christian tyrant there is known

To mark his steps with blood,

Nor sable misery's piercing moan

Resounds through ev'ry wood!

Yet I have heard the melting tongue;

Have seen the falling tear,

Known the good heart by pity wrung;

Ah! that such hearts are rare!

Now christian glut thy ravish'd eyes!

I reach the joyful hour!

Now bid the scorching flames arise,

And these poor limbs devour!

But know, pale tyrant, 'tis not thine

Eternal war to wage;

The death thou giv'st shall but combine

To mock thy baffled rage!

O death! how welcome to th' oppress'd!

Thy kind embrace I crave!

Thou bring'st to mis'ry's bosom rest,

and freedom to the slave!

* He is supposed to address his wife at the place of execution.

From the N. Y. Spectator.—[EXTRACT.]

APOSTROPHE TO THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

There is blood on thy desolate shore,

Thou island of plunder and slaves!

Thy billows are purpled with gore,

And murder has crimson'd thy waves;

The vengeance of nations will come,

And wrath shall be rain'd on thy head;

Through terror, thy voice shall be dumb,

When they ask for their brothers who bled.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several No's of "*Tevens to Sophronia*," also of the "*Modern Listener*," and the "*Juvenile Philanthropist*," are on file. They, as well as the communications of "*A. C.*" and "*J. P.*" shall appear, as soon as there may be room.

"*D. A.*" and "*L. C.*" is in type.

Several others are under consideration.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." — *Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 10. VOL. II.

FOURTH MONTH, 10, 1823.

WHOLE No. 22.

HIGH-HANDED MEASURES IN ILLINOIS!

Some very extraordinary proceedings have lately taken place in the legislature of Illinois, which seem to have excited a burst of indignation that may lead to important results.—*See page 140 of this paper.*—It appears that by some scandalous management they obtained a majority to recommend the call of a convention to alter their State Constitution, for the purpose of introducing Slavery!

So much for the wisdom of those dought-faced politicians in Congress, who yielded to the importunities, the threats, and the —s of Clay, and his co-adjutors, the advocates of perpetual, interminable slavery in Missouri. The devotees of tyranny are emboldened to push their efforts, and endeavour to extend their usurpations. Dissatisfied with the circumscribed limits within which they have the power to lord it over their fellow-creatures, and viewing with an eye of malignity the virtuous fame of those who practice what they profess, like Satan, when he turns his face towards the gates of Paradise, they long to *undermine* the intervening barriers, and let in the floods of corruption.

But can we for a moment suppose they will succeed?—Heaven forbid!—We cannot indulge the debasing thought. We cannot believe that liberty is retrograding in the West. But the "Spirit of Despotism" is struggling violently for existence; and having gained a momentary advantage, so far as to check the movements of its adversary, attempts to carry the contest beyond the confines of its own territory. It remains to be seen *how soon* its minions will be hurled from the seat of authority, when it is discovered that they have polluted with their poisonous breath, the air which none but free men breathe, and when they have profaned with their unhallowed footsteps the temple dedicated to liberty.

Citizens of the State of Illinois! Are you prepared to view with complacency these outrageous proceedings of your servants in the legislature? Will you sanction the diabolical procedure when you next make known your sentiments through the medium of the ballot box? I hesitate not to say it is impossible; and that you are inca-

pable of so glaring an act of inconsistency, and of exhibiting such an evidence of political and moral depravity.

An Alabama paper, now before me, has a cut, prefixed to an advertisement for a sale of negroes, representing a platform, similar to those sometimes used by auctioneers, with a negro standing on it, and two men by the side of it, as bidders, while the crier is in the attitude of performing his abominable business. Hail America! thou land of hypocrites; I blush to call thee my native country, while such scenes as this are witnessed within thy borders. Thy sons and daughters can anathematize the Mahometans, for doing the **SAME THING** of which they themselves are guilty; they can talk of preaching the gospel of Christ to the heathen, when, at the same time, they know not what it is, or, are knowingly and daily violating its clearest provisions; they prate about republicanism, while they are, ipso facto using their utmost exertions to perpetuate in the bosom of their country, and under their own eyes, the most abominable and bloody despotism that ever existed upon the face of the earth! Is it possible that the blessings of Heaven will continue to descend upon a people guilty of such diabolical practices?—No!—the dark electric cloud, the wrath of Jehovah, will burst upon their heads; and nature's avenging arm, a smothered volcano on which they daily tread, will one day explode, & hurl them to the gates of irremediable ruin!! Slave holders awake from your delusion!—These things will most surely be verified. It is as certain as fate. It is the experience of all ages, and nations. Tyranny of every kind must be destroyed. Look at the present state of the world where despotism prevails!—In European Turkey, Spain, Portugal, South America and Mexico, Havoc and Destruction stalks abroad; and tyrants tremble at the frowne of ETERNAL JUSTICE. Turn I beseech you, from your works of oppression, or it will assuredly be your lot, bye and bye.

It is no uncommon thing to hear our good, liberty loving, religion professing, southern slaveholders declaim with vehemence, now a days, against the foreign slave trade. And

Vivat Justitia Pluribus Vobis.

for a show of morality and justice, they have consented to the enactment of laws against the introduction of slaves into the country from abroad. Yet notwithstanding this, we sometimes see such things as the following in the newspapers.

SALE OF AFRICAN SLAVES.

On Tuesday, the 4th of May next, in the town of Milledgeville, will be exposed to public sale, to the highest bidder, between thirty and forty prime African slaves, which have been taken possession of by the state of Georgia, in consequence, of their having been introduced contrary to the laws of the state, and of the United States. Indisputable titles will be made, and prompt payment required.

By order of the governor.

CHARLES WILLIAMSON, Agt.

Now what, let me ask, is the difference in principle between the promotion and encouragement of the Foreign slave trade by open and undisguised means, and this kind of underhanded *management*? Congress has declared the act of bringing slaves into our ports from abroad to be piracy; the several states have also forbid their introduction; but how can the laws against it be carried into effect, while the villains who engage in the business are sure of a market for them?—Let some Southern ship owner send out a vessel to be loaded with slaves, and returned to some particular place on the coast, where a small force sufficient for a show is stationed, or engaged to be ready on their arrival, to capture them; let the crew be paid and assisted out of the way, while the slaves are sold, half the proceeds to go to the captors, which I believe is customary, and every thing is arranged. A pretty snug way of carrying on business this! Suborning of custom house officers, or their clerks, is another mode of accomplishing their views in part; and the mighty influence of bribery, and corruption, which the advocates of oppression of every clime and complexion under heaven, always are ready to bring to their aid, is sure to set the laws at defiance, while facilities are afforded for the perpetration of their unprincipled and wicked proceedings.

THE "NATION!"

A writer in a late New Orleans paper says: "Louisiana, a NATION brave and independent, should not consent to be subjugated by a coalition of the conquerors of the north. No, we are not Helots, we are free and independent.—We will, as a NATION! that our offi-

cers shall fulfil their duties and obey the laws."

This sounds very like the "*Nation of New England*," as uttered in the days of the Hartford convention. But you are "*not Helots*," you say—I deny the assertion, unless you will consent to qualify it; for a great portion of the population of your state are *nothing more nor less* than miserable degraded "*Helots*;" and it is to be feared they will yet become the majority! In the supposition that this shall actually take place, what will become of you by the side of Mexico, Hayti, and other "free and independent" NATIONS?

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE MODERN LISTENER.

To his Correspondent. No. XI.

SIR—In my former Number I have endeavored to wrest good old Abraham from the slave party; I think I have shown, that all their arguments, drawn from his example, are futile. I shall, in this second part of my chain of thoughts, take into consideration what is called the prophetic denunciation of Noah against a small branch of his family, to wit, Canaan's fourth son of Ham, who, or rather his posterity, was to be the servants of servants.

Here the slave party fix their foot, & tell you the negroes were intended to be slaves. Now there are three things which they must prove, otherwise their ground is not tenable: first, that the descendants of Canaan, the fourth son of Ham, were black; secondly, that they peopled Africa; and thirdly, that there is an analogy between the servitude embraced in that prophecy, and the slavery tolerated on our own Continent. I am fully persuaded that the first point cannot be proved, unless the second point can. I am as fully persuaded that it cannot, because their place of abode, & the bounds of their habitations, is identified in the sacred scripture, which bounds, and habitation, had no connection with Africa—see Gen. Chap. 10, and verses, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19—1 Chron. chap. 1, verses 13, 14, 15, 16. Now, as Noah's prophetic denunciation only referred to, and embraced the fourth and youngest branch of Ham's family, and it cannot be proved that they were black; nor agreeable to the above scriptures, that they inhabited Africa, there is then, no shadow of a proof to be deduced from Noah's denunciation for the enslaving of black people, any more than the enslaving of those that are called white, or red, people. Then this argument like the one drawn from the example of A-

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braham, proves too much, and of course, proves nothing to the point.

I shall here point out the grand mistake of the slave party, which has arisen from the want of attentively reading the ninth of Genesis, verses 25, 26, 27:—from their reading, they have taken up the idea, and handed it out, that the denunciation was against Ham, and of course, embraced all his posterity. And I suppose that it is a given up point, that some of the posterity of Ham, did people some part of Africa, (perhaps Phut, tho the scriptures are silent with respect to his issue) as the land of Egypt in one or two places in the Psalms, is called the land of Ham; and that God had done mighty wonders in the tabernacles of Ham, in rescuing his people Israel from that nation. But I wish them to read the passage more attentively, which if they do, they will find that Ham is not mentioned, nor any direct imprecations denounced against him, nor against a single branch of his family, except Canaan his youngest son, which was perhaps, when he discovered his grandfather's nakedness, and with singular gratification, it may be, and sporting, obscene language, told his father. As Canaan was Ham's youngest son, it is not unlikely that he was like too many of our youngest sons, or daughters, petted and humored till they are spoiled, even from the cradle and also like too many of the young and giddy in our day who have no feeling for the aged, and make sport of the infirmities of old age: and hence we cannot wonder if we hear them in an early stage of life, complaining of pains, a failure of memory, tooth ache, weakness of eyes; and alas, says one, my head is getting grey already, and I am beginning to be marked with the frost of old age, even in youth. In them our Lord's words are accomplished, when he said, "Wo unto you that laugh now, for ye shall weep and mourn."

But as to the averse doctrines of nations, and the causes of them, is a point I do not mean here to discuss; but I must say, that the slavery which is sanctioned, and practised on this continent, has not its parallel! It is not to be found in the sacred volume, —perhaps the uncircumcised Philistines came pretty near it in the case of Sampson, when they took him from his treacherous wife and put him in prison, and set him to grind for them; but he had acted the part of a sore enemy against them, and had slain many hundreds of them, but what have the Africans done to us? wherein as a nation, have they injured us? I know not that

they have declared war against us. Had they invaded our country, burnt some of our houses, killed some of our people, taken some of them prisoners, &c. what is there that forbids our dealing with them, as with other belligerent nations, whether of the christian or the savage kind? If we do not, I ask what has become of our honour, our humanity, and our Christianity? Why are these noble principles covered over with the fretful imprecations of an old man, just awaked from his intoxication,* against a person, whose posterity had no connection —perhaps, no intercourse with Africa.

Alas for the slave party! this covering is too narrow, it is too short, and leaves them as naked of solid argument, as ever Canaan found his grandfather of a covering! But again, the parallel is not to be found amongst the *Turks*, or the *wild Arabs*; in labour and hard usage, there may be some likeness; but as soon as a christian slave embraces the Mahomedan religion, he is free, and there is great rejoicing among them on account of the new convert; but alas for the slaves in America!—for the slaves of an enlightened, a free, and Christian professing people! While *Turks* are solicitous for their slaves to embrace their error, and hold out freedom as a premium for their becoming proselytes to Mahomedanism, many of our slave holding *Christians*, think it best that their slaves should be kept in ignorance—ignorant of all their relative duties to God, or to man! Hundreds of them have no idea of morality, nor any inducement thereto, either by precept or example—they know they are black,—they know they are slaves; and they know that they are held in the very lowest contempt of all human beings, and from the

*The truth of divine revelation, or the authority of the holy Scriptures, does not, in my humble opinion, depend upon the literal and partial fulfilment of what is called Noah's prophecy, any more than when a parent in an ill humour, tells a child who has offended him, to "be gone," "you will never be worth anything," or "you will come to the gallows," and if it should come to pass, proves that such parent was divinely inspired, though the parent's words may have come to be true in some cases; and the literal or partial fulfilment of Noah's prediction, as it is called, proves no more to me that God approved of his cursing Canaan then, than it proves that it is right for parents to curse their children now.

present state and appearance of things, all hope of rising above what they now are, has fled. From this, arises their neglect of embracing the smallest chance of improvement; and from the state and situation in which they are placed, we may account for that dullness or stupidity,—want of principle,—their thievishness, and all the other traits of bad morals commonly attached to them of which we complain, and of which we *white Christians* are the real cause. Now sir, as the great Jehovah has declared that “all souls are mine” how shall we, as a nation, answer to the great God in the day of tribulation, for these souls, which in a moral point of view, we have robbed him of? Is it not the case, that thousands of them, instead of having the means and opportunity of being instructed in the will of God, and of obeying him, and devoting themselves to his service, are compelled to obey us, and to devote themselves, with all they have, to our authority, without any regard to the will of deity, or their own future well being?

I shall close this number with my assurances to you, that it is amongst some of the unaccountables with me, that there are so many men in our country, from whom we might expect better things, stand and tamely look on, and never move hand, or foot, tongue, or pen, in the behalf of such suffering human beings. Adieu.

MODERN LISTENER.

P. S. In my next, I shall say something about the third point, which the slave party must prove, for it seems to me, that that is now all the ground they have to stand upon.

M. L.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
INUENDO,

TO THE “MODERN LISTENER.”

I will relate a few things to you, sir, believing you hear attentively. I have recently had some serious thoughts on the Missionary business.

There are many in the world, and near us, whose privations (although lamentable) are but little regarded, especially by those who ought to regard them.

I am pleased to find that so many of our heaven-favoured American Citizens are so zealous and liberal in their contributions to the support of Missions, and the like institutions. We hear from Virginia, Carolina, &c. that they are very benevolent in giving assistance to Missionary efforts, and in instructing the heathen in the knowledge of the Bible, and the doctrines of the

gospel. And thus may we hope for a light to spring up among the Gentiles or Heathens.

O! what a pity we cannot travel over the stormy main, and reach the poor destitute children of Ham. Now if our Missionaries would all go there they might do a vast deal of good, if they would not do like papa, steal them poor jetty creatures.

I used to think, that Charity began at home; but this is not always the case. Some people are near sighted, and can only see near objects, while others are so old they can only see distant objects; or they look through a crooked tube, in every half-circle of which there is an object of Charity, and they do not see such as are near them. Yet after all, I could wish the good friend (Charity) would come home; for I do not like to see people leave their own plantations and go on other peoples land to raise crops without they can cultivate their own ground too:—And you know, it is not good to rent, when we have a sufficiency of our own. “*He who has an ear, let him hear*—” A word to the wise is sufficient. I could say much more, but you know what I mean—Farewell.

D. A.

The following appeared in a late number of the *Edwardsville Spectator*, a valuable paper published in the State of Illinois. The editor is one of those genuine American Republicans whose patriotic soul indignantly spurns the idea of oppression, in any shape, and whose talents and firmness inspire the hope that he may render the most essential services to his fellow citizens in the present state of their affairs. I shall copy some of his remarks relative to the proceedings in the legislature, in a future Number of this work.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ILLINOIS.
FELLOW CITIZENS,

The undersigned are members of the Legislature of your state, which has this day terminated its session. We cannot close our deliberations, and leave this place, without briefly expressing to you some of our views and sentiments upon a most important subject.

The relation of a representative to his constituents is always interesting, and by him who duly appreciates it, the accountability of the former to the latter will never be questioned.

But there is one subject to which we wish to invite your particular attention:

Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

A resolution has been adopted in both branches of the legislature, to take our votes, on the first Monday of August, 1834, upon the propriety of calling a convention to alter and amend the constitution of this state. In the decision of this question we are in the minority; and as such minority we make you this solemn address.

If it were the object of the supporters of this measure, not materially to change the character of our constitution, we might have been indifferent as to the result, or, have given a silent vote against it. But when we perceive that the supreme object proposed to be accomplished by a convention, is the extinguishment of a most essential feature of that constitution, and the *establishment of slavery*, as part of our civil polity, we cannot believe that the people of Illinois are wishing to have such a question referred to them again for decision. They have long since pronounced their judgment, that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" in this state; and we are not sensible that any sufficient causes have occurred to change a determination so solemnly made. It is for this reason, fellow citizens, we have voted against the call of a convention, and it is in this view of the subject we look to you for support.

If the questions growing out of this measure had not unusual claims to importance and grave consideration—if they were not of uncommon magnitude, and alarmingly portentous—we should be silent. But when we see a formidable effort making to tear down the most prominent pillar in the fabric of our constitution, and erect in its place a perpetual barrier to universal freedom, we cannot stand by, indifferent spectators of its destruction. Selected by our fellow citizens to stand for a while upon the political watch-tower, as sentinels for the public safety, we feel it our incumbent duty to sound the note of alarm, and to apprise you, that a portion of your rulers have formed the systematic design, to expunge from your constitution its fairest feature, and entail upon yourselves and your posterity the evils of slavery.—Others have been brought to labour in this unholy vocation with a zeal and an industry worthy of a better cause.

Think not, fellow citizens, that our danger is imaginary. Be not, we entreat you, on this subject, deceived. The song of the syren may be sung, but listen not to the notes of her melody. You will be told, and the tale will probably be repeated until the ear shall be wearied by the repetition,

that it is not intended to alter our constitution with regard to slavery. *But we know better.* We have been eye witnesses to the developement of this project, and marked, not without surprize, the extraordinary and unusual efforts for its success; efforts which can hardly be accounted for, except upon the supposition of some object of deep hidden interest, which cannot bear the light of day, or the sight of the public eye.

We pretend not to make this charge against all those who have advocated a convention, but we know it to be true with regard to many of them, and some of its warmest supporters have *openly avowed it.* Had you been spectators of the scenes which have been acted in the halls of your legislature and in this town for some of the last days of the session, you would have been astonished at the conduct of some of our lawgivers, as well as others, and been ready to exclaim

O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts, And men have lost their reason.

So far as the subject of slavery is concerned, we believe that the *people* will do *right*; but we fear that a *convention* may do *wrong*. As good citizens, it is our duty always to submit to the voice of the majority, and we indulge the belief that, that voice may be much more distinctly expressed with regard to slavery, against the convention, than by the convention itself. With the people, the voice of Freedom *will* be heard; but in a convention our experience has taught us it *may* be hushed to silence. Are you opposed, Fellow Citizens, to the introduction of slavery among us? It is your duty for the same reasons to be opposed to a convention. One may not follow the other, but depends upon it, this convention is relied upon as the entering wedge to slavery—the great engine which is to move "the wooden horse within our walls." As reflecting citizens will you jeopardize the equal freedom of your state, by permitting a measure which may hazard it upon the uncertain cast of a die?—Let the watch-word then among "the keepers of Israel" be, CONVENTION & SLAVERY! NO CONVENTION AND FREEDOM!

(Concluded in next Number.)

It is said that through the zealous intercession of the English Philanthropist—Allen, the Congress of Kings at Verona has declared the slave trade to be *piracy*; and decreed that their subjects shall be punished accordingly, if found engaged in it. Here is an evidence of what can be

done by honest, zealous activity in urging the practice of justice among even the most heartless tyrants. It were devoutly to be wished that such an one were here, to thunder in the ears of American Legislators the wickedness of our own "*slave trade*," and the direful consequences inevitably resulting from it.

The following article, published some time since in the Baltimore American Farmer, cannot fail to be read with interest. While it tends to shew, in some degree, the kind of feeling produced by a little exercise of the mind relative to their actual situation, it also depicts in glowing colours the extreme prejudice and wonderful delusion existing amongst the citizens of that part of the country to which it alludes.

Observations by a Member of the Board of Public Works of S. Carolina, suggested by recent events, respecting a change of POPULATION and cultivation or production of new objects of industry, such as OLIVES, GRAPES, WOOL and SILK, particularly in parts of that State.

It has frequently been asserted, and probably with truth, that slavery is an obstacle to improvements and to the increase of the white population. The late distressing events in Charleston prove that it certainly is attended with considerable danger.

Very few persons in the Southern, as well as the Northern states look upon it in any other light than as a great evil entailed upon us by our ancestors, and, like hereditary diseases of the human body, the cure is extremely difficult, and all that can be done with comparative facility is to administer palliatives. Some means at this time seem necessary to be adopted to check the growing evil, whether it is intended ever to suppress slavery totally, or merely to modify it so as to correct in a great degree the worst effects of it and prevent, if possible, the recurrence of the late disturbances. It is not intended here to discuss the subject of slavery; but taking the present situation of things as we find them, the question is, what is best to be done consistently with humanity towards our slaves, and our duty to ourselves and posterity?

In order to answer this question, it will be necessary to take a brief view of the present state of things, considering at the

same time the probable causes that led to the evil complained of.

There is not the smallest doubt that the condition of our slaves has been very greatly and progressively ameliorated since the revolutionary war. The spirit of philanthropy which has been more generally diffused with education, knowledge and milder manners, joined particularly to the self interest of the owners of slaves, have availed much. The introduction of labor-saving machinery has rendered the labour of the slaves much lighter than formerly, besides which they are better fed, better clothed, and treated less harshly. If we compare the situation of our slaves with that of the labouring class of other countries, the former will be found, most undoubtedly, to have considerably the advantage. Whatever be the dearth of provisions, clothing, fuel, &c. they are sure to be abundantly supplied.—When they are sick, they have always good medical attendance; they have no uneasiness concerning the bringing up of their children, and when disabled by disease, infirmities or old age, they are certain of their usual support without ever being under the necessity of recurring to mendicity. Their work is usually light, never above their power, and it is not uncommon to see them return home after having finished their day's work at 1 or 2 o'clock, and frequently even earlier than this.* There are few or no instances of this among the poor class in Europe. The slave having finished his task is perfectly master of his own time: he sleeps, or he works in the ground allowed him for a garden, by which means he is enabled to procure a few articles of comfort. But whether he sleeps or works for himself, his mind is absolutely free from any kind of trouble either for the present or the future, for himself or for his children. In short he is fully satisfied that happen what may, he will be supplied with food and raiment,

* From this finely painted picture of the situation of southern slaves, it would seem that the author had never been in sight of a slave holder's plantation, except such an one, as belonged to a very humane proprietor. He talks like a man who is exceedingly ignorant of the true state of things, in some particulars, relating to his subject; or else desirous of concealing the truth. In short, some of his remarks are very just, and some of them are to be viewed in no other light than those of a pettifogger, who has received a good fat fee.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

and he is never in danger of seeing the constable seize his bed for house rent, &c.† Notwithstanding all this, we admit that slavery is far from being desirable, either for the slave or the master. Apathy, indolence, and want of energy and industry are alike, generally the portion of both. Our house servants lead still an easier life. Their number is such in every family that each of them has but little to do, & here, perhaps lies a great part of the evil. Town slaves, whether mechanics, or house servants, are always very well fed and well clothed. They are selected from among the most intelligent, and, by the misplaced indulgence of masters, many have been allowed to learn to read and write.‡ It is among these idle pampered fellows that we must ever expect to find discontent, and it is a well known fact that all the blacks concerned in the late attempt at an insurrection belonged to very indulgent masters, and were, almost without exception fully in the enjoyment of their masters' confidence. Many of them were or pretended to be, very religious, and several were preachers. In the revolution of St. Domingo, it is almost without exception also, that the most indulgent masters were the first sacrificed. Severe masters kept their slaves at work on the plantations, a very long time after that country was in a state of rebellion, and the negroes had been declared free by the French government.

From these indisputable facts it would appear that great severity is the surest means of keeping slaves in due subjection. But God forbid that this plan be adopted! Humanity forbids it, and when we have recourse to severe punishments, it ought to be only in obedience to the commands of the most imperious necessity.

(To be continued.)

† O, NO! not at all, at all—He dreads nothing of that kind; and for the very good reason that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred his "bed" is not worth "siezing," even if the constable may find it necessary to visit his master's premises.—But the writer probably forgot to acknowledge that the body of the slave is liable to be seized and sold, at any moment, and separated from every thing dear on earth, either to gratify the caprice, the whims, or the misfortunes of his Master. This he knows; and it must be a *happifying* reflection, no doubt!

‡ This sentiment is becoming universal

among slave holders. *Slaves must not be taught to read, &c.* What sort of a country are we living in? Are we under the blessed, illuminating rays of gospel light, which was commanded to be sent to every human being under heaven, and from which none were to be excluded,—or are we yet shrouded in worse than popish or pagan darkness where a *part only* are considered fit to become the subjects of its renovating influence? What a paradox is here exhibited! Strange republicans; and hopeful christians that ye are! in one breath you say that the condition of the Negro is greatly improved by an acquaintance with the Christian religion, and in the next, that THE MEANS OF ATTAINING THIS MUST BE DENIED HIM!!!—Well might a Jefferson say—"I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just," seeing that hypocrites so unblushing, abound in it.

But if any thing were wanting to cap the climax of irreligion and tyranny, as it regards the education of blacks, the following which has appeared in the late papers is amply sufficient for the purpose.

Among the Presentments by a late Charleston Grand-Jury was the following:

"We present as a grievance the number of Schools which are kept within the city by persons of color, and believe that a city ordinance, prohibiting under severe penalties such persons from being public instructors, would meet with general approbation."

Here we see it gravely recommended, by a Grand Jury, to prohibit, under severe penalties, any person of color from teaching a school. Never was a more rank despotic measure proposed, as respects the diffusion of christianity or republicanism, since the day that our Saviour was crucified on Calvary's cursed Mount.

—

The "Mote" and the "Beam."

In some papers it is mentioned, with great indignation and horror, that the infidel Turks at Smyrna, &c have offered Greek women, boys and girls for sale, at their shops and bazars. And yet in the same papers are to be found advertisements, with the names of professing christians at the bottom; such as this—"for sale, a negro family, consisting of a man, his wife, and 6 children, either together or single, as may suit the purchaser. They are sold for no fault, but to raise money. Enquire of A B, C D, &c." Circumstances are said to alter cases, therefore, an act which is atrociously wicked when committed by a Mahometan, at Constantinople, loses its turpitude &

Fiat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

violence, when performed by a Christian, in the United States!! but let these pretended advocates for liberty and humanity, point out the moral difference between the traffic in the persons of the Greeks by the Turks, and the abominable practice of buying and selling negroes in the U. States.

*Richmond Weekly Intelligencer.***MUSES' BOWER.**

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind.
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

*For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
TO THE EDITOR.*

The following poem, tho' long since sung by some English bard, sets forth the origin and effects of slavery, in so pathetic a manner, that I should like to see it occupy a corner in the Bower dedicated to the Muses.

A. C.

THE SORROWS OF YAMBA.

In St. Lucia's distant Isle,
Still with Afric's love I burn,
Parted many a thousand mile
Never never to return.

Come kind death, and give me rest,
Yamba has no friend but thee,
Thou can'st ease my throbbing breast,
Thou can'st set the pris'ner free.

Down my cheeks the tears are dripping,
Broken is my heart with grief,

Mangled my poor flesh with whipping;
Come kind death and give relief.

Born on Afric's golden coast,
Once I was as bless'd as you;
Parent tender I could boast,
Husband dear, and children too.

Whity man he came from far,
Sailing o'er the briny flood,
Who with help of British tar,
Buys up human flesh and blood.

With a baby at my breast,
Other two was sleeping by,
In my hut I sat at rest,
With no thought of danger nigh.

From the bush at even-tide,
Rush'd the fierce man-stealing crew,
Seiz'd my children by my side,
Seiz'd the wretched Yamba too.

Then for love of filthy gold,
Straight they bore me to the sea,
Cramm'd me down a Slave ship's hold,
Where are hundreds stow'd like me.

Naked on the platform lying,
Now we cross the rolling wave,
Shrieking, sick'ning, fainting dying,
Deed of shame for Britons brave!

I in groaning pass'd the night,
Nor could rest my aching head;
At the break of morning light,
My poor child was cold and dead.

Happy, happy, there she lies!
Thou shalt feel the lash no more.

(To be Continued.)

FOR THE GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

Think O my soul, the dreadful day is fast approaching,

In which the Almighty, wearied with the iniquities of mankind,

Will cause the great Arch Angel to sound earth's dissolution,

And the termination of man's probationary day!

Lo! when the dread alarm shall echo through our frightened world,

And all the dead in prompt obedience to this awful summons,

Leave their dusty beds with deep reluctance, to face their final Judge,

And from his hand now to receive a crown of life, or death which never dies,

Among the countless millions arraigned at th' dread tribunal,

There are, (who with the iron hand of sad oppression,

Deprived their fellows, the offspring of the God of love,

Of all that's dear on earth, sweet liberty of body and of mind.)

Behold! with looks aghast, and countenances full of horror,

Hands stained with human blood, filled with unrighteous wages;

Oppression-deep engraven on their foreheads, & condemnation on their hearts,

They approach the great white throne, from whence impartial justice

Reads each their final doom. Although unjust to an extreme degree,

They now lay claim to all the glories of the heavenly world,

As here on earth. His followers they professed to be; preached his word,

And in his presence eat and drank the symbols of his broken body

And shed blood. But with an awful frown of vengeance and fiery

Indignation, the God of justice gives them o'er to the tormenters!

L

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 11. VOL. II.

FOURTH MONTH, 30, 1823.

WHOLE No. 23.

☞ The second Number of the first volume of this work is at length reprinted, and will be forwarded to subscribers immediately. Not having a sufficiency of type to spare for both, the publication of this No. has been delayed a little.

The eighth No. of Vol. I. will also be reprinted in a few days, and sent to such subscribers as have not received it.

I am indebted to the politeness of a friend in Washington City, for a copy of the sixth annual report of the American Colonization Society, printed in pamphlet form, and containing a mass of valuable and interesting matter, from which I shall make copious extracts as soon as my limits will permit. He will please accept my thanks for his kind attention, and I shall be glad to reciprocate the favor when an opportunity may offer.

ABOLITION INTELLIGENCER.

This valuable publication, I am sorry to learn, is about to be discontinued. It seems that it has failed to receive an adequate and sufficient support, when every one that ever saw it, must acknowledge that it really merited a better fate. Here is a lesson of instruction to the people of this nation.—While the different states abound with publications devoted to the subject of *foreign missions*, which are generally well supported, the second establishment for the purpose of ameliorating the suffering condition of our own benighted people, many of whom know as little of the christian religion, as either the Hindoos, or the natives of the Sandwich Islands, is permitted to languish and perish through neglect. Spirit of Benezet! Why dost thou hide thy face from the people of this generation; and where repose the manes of a Lay, a Franklin, and a Rush? Has not their mantle descended because an Elisha could not be found worthy to bear the robe of heavenly virtue? Elisha's there are in the land, who have nobly engaged in the sacred work of philanthropy, but the gloomy cloud of prejudice yet obscures the visual ray, and darkens the minds of the people. We look, however, for the dawning of a brighter day, when the Sun of Righteousness shall arise

with healing in his wings, and the light of universal benevolence, shall penetrate the inmost recesses of the human soul. Then shall the shades of delusion vanish, and a phantom of the brain no longer assume the character of a divine substance.

ILLINOIS.

In the last Number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, I noticed the attempt made in the Legislature of Illinois to lay the foundation for the introduction of Slavery into that state. The conclusion of an address to the people, by some of the members who were in the minority, was designed for this Number, but is postponed to the next, when I shall also insert a few articles tending to shew the feeling produced upon the occasion, among the people themselves, in certain parts of the country.

That there is a powerful party in favor of slavery in the southern counties of the state, I very well know; but it is believed that the advocates of freedom, even there, will greatly out number them. And if I am not very much mistaken, the late scandalous conduct of the majority in the legislature, will rouse the people to a sense of their situation, and that they will frown into insignificance the wretches who could thus evince a disposition to trample on the principles of justice and liberty.

In Illinois, as well as in Missouri, there are many adventurers from different parts of the world, some of whom are as completely destitute of virtuous principle, as we can possibly imagine any thing in the human form to be, and who would willingly plunge the nation into the worst of calamities, if they could have a prospect of enhancing their fortunes by it. These are generally men of influence.—To the cunning of the Fox, they unite the boldness of the Lion, and to the ingenuity of man, they add the ferocity of demons, never hesitating for a moment to take advantage of any circumstance that may occur to favor their schemes for personal aggrandizement.

And in addition to this class of characters, there are many wealthy slave-holders in some of the other states, who have large tracts of land, as well as mercantile and other establishments in different parts of the

country, and are ardently desirous of changing the present form of government, in order to introduce their gangs of half fed and half clothed slaves into that delightful region, whereby they may effect the triple purpose of enriching themselves; of checking the encroachment of a free laboring population; and obtaining a triumph over the advocates of universal liberty.

Let it not be supposed that I speak from information derived from doubtful sources. I am intimately acquainted with many persons there of the character here alluded to, and it is my intention to make a few statements when I may have room, to shew the manner in which some have managed matters since the erection of the territory of Illinois into an independent state.

In the northern and the north-eastern parts of the state, the advocates of slavery are believed to be very few in number; but all the arts of misrepresentation and sly intrigue will be used by the slave party, to blind the eyes of the honest, mislead the judgment of the weak, tempt the avaricious, and frighten the timid, whereby some, no doubt, will become willing instruments in endeavoring to effect its unhallowed designs. And as extraordinary efforts will unquestionably be made by the advocates of oppression to ensure the success of their measures, it is to be hoped they will be met by the friends of liberty and justice with a corresponding degree of energy, and a full determination to thwart their unprincipled views.

THREATS.

If the violent threats, and wrathful fulminations, uttered by certain persons against the editor of this paper, are to be considered a criterion to judge of the effects it is likely to produce, we may safely indulge the hope that it will not be without its use in various parts of the country. It would seem that in this blest land of republicanism,—in the United States of America, where the liberty of the Press is said to be held sacred and inviolable, the most glaring crimes must be suffered to pass with impunity, or if any are courageous enough to publish them, their lives are declared to be in danger. The enemies of freedom have not only threatened corporeal chastisement, (a mode of punishment they could inflict, perhaps with as much dexterity as any;) they have not only denounced me as a tory and a traitor, but some have gone so far as to menace

with the language of premeditated assassination. I do not notice these things for the purpose of exciting a feeling of resentment among the friends of emancipation, but merely to let it be known that I am not to be deterred from a faithful performance of my duty by such means. I am fully satisfied that I am acting as an humble instrument for the promotion of the best of causes; I feel that I am standing on the solid foundation of justice, liberty, and law; and while I remain true to the principles I have resolved to defend, neither the powers of earth or hell can move me from my purpose, until the lamp of life shall be extinguished. I am by no means anxious to leave this stage of existence, before my Maker shall see proper to call me hence; on the contrary, I believe there is much here to do, which it will be my duty to attend to if I may be spared:—but if I must be destroyed, my life shall be at the service of my country; and my adversaries may rest assured that I shall not fear the face of man, “who can only destroy the body, but rather fear HIM who his able to destroy both the soul and body, in hell.”

There are probably very few among us who would go to such extremes as to carry anything into execution as above mentioned; but there are many, no doubt, who would rejoice at such a circumstance should it occur.

To such deluded creatures I wish long life and a disposition for repentance. I can not indulge a feeling of enmity towards them, but would most fervently pray that the Almighty may “forgive them, as they know not what they do.”

“A short time after the death of Elihu Embree, Editor of the “*Emancipator*,” a person was heard to exclaim, in a tone of exultation, that “one of the head devils is dead, and if James Jones’ breath was stopped the people might have a little peace.”

James Jones, here alluded to, is the President of the Manumission Society of Tennessee;—and the kind of peace spoken of, would be the *undisturbed* privilege of oppressing their fellow creatures—similar to that which will be enjoyed by “devils,” perhaps, when tormenting them in a future state of existence.

ELECTIONS. No. II.

It may be laid down as an axiom, that on our own conduct, as relates to the exercise of the elective franchise, depends the preservation of our liberties, and the per-

petuity of our republican form of government. The use of that important privilege is the great panacea for the extirpation of political diseases, and is equally as well calculated to nerve and brace the system, as to purge and remove the corruptious engendered in it. But to understand how to make a proper use of it, we must acquaint ourselves in some degree with the nature and disposition of mankind. We must be guided not too much by narrow and selfish views, but consult the welfare of all, as far as our knowledge may extend. We must not suffer ourselves to be influenced by the importunate solicitations of office holders, office seekers, nor hungry expectants of any denomination whatever—but while we disdain the humble parasite, and the wily sycophant, we must guard against the movements of those who, like the terrific prowlers of the forest, crouch for the purpose of pouncing more vigorously upon their prey.

Perhaps there is nothing more common in the history of popular elections than for candidates for office to show an unusual degree of familiarity with the voters at the time they are before the public in that character. This, of itself, is well enough, as an acquaintance is then particularly desired, and no harm can result from it, if improper means are not used to win their favor:—but it is unfortunately the case, that in too many instances, the weakness of some opens a door for the exercise of a dangerous influence, by which unworthy persons frequently succeed in grasping the reins of authority, and it must be next to a miracle if they do not abuse the power thus vested in them. We have reason to believe that in many cases a system of semi bribery is put in operation, whereby votes are procured, and perhaps the odious practice of treating with ardent spirits, at the time of an election is as objectionable as any other in public use. Where, it may be asked, is the difference, in point of principle, between purchasing a vote with money, and prevailing upon a man, after his reason has been drowned in the inebriating cup, to give his suffrage to one that he would withhold it from at any other time? This would certainly be viewed as a species of bribery which the laws should take cognizance of; but how is the criminality magnified, when the intoxicating potion has been administered specially for that purpose! So far we have looked only on one side of the picture—the criminality has only been noticed as applicable to candidates. Let us now reverse it and see

how it will appear when applied to the other party. Here we observe that the shameful, the disgraceful, practice of drunkenness is countenanced and encouraged by men of high standing in community, and of course increases with an alarming rapidity; the consequence of which must inevitably be the entire destruction of religious principle, the corruption of morals, an enflaming of the violent passions, an increase of vicious propensities, a mental incapacity, and in time, the complete enervation of the whole system. But it does not stop here. To the evils enumerated, we may add the impoverishment of families, and an abject dependence, on perhaps, the very men who have been instrumental in producing such a state of things; who have thereby been elevated to power and consequence, and have by this time discovered that the wretched creatures *are not fit to govern themselves*, at the same time very kindly taking measures to do it for them.

Who can imagine a state of things better calculated to accomplish the complete destruction of liberty than this? Who could desire a more favourable opportunity to introduce an absolute despotism among a free people?

Extrait of a letter from an highly esteemed friend in North Carolina to the Editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, dated the 26, inst.

"People's minds in this part of the country are becoming more and more enlightened, and enlarged, to understand the evils of slavery. Some are very willing to read thy numbers at the expense of others, who are not so free to cast in their mites, but there is no cause of discouragement, and I shall persevere in circulating it to the utmost of my ability."

A pamphlet has recently been published at Charleston, S. C. entitled, "*Reflections occasioned by the late disturbances at Charleston.*"

This work I have not yet seen. It is ascribed to the pen of Gen. Thomas Pinkney, and the following extraordinary paragraph is copied from it in the *Portsmouth Journal*. I have at this time no room for comment.

"Still less can we prevent evils arising from the injustice, impolicy, and indiscriminate cruelty of many citizens of the Northern States, who directly or indirectly instigate our Black population to such scenes as they lately meditated. It is termed injustice, because it is a violation of the

Federal compact. Impolicy, because if there be a single cause which can dissolve the Union, it would be the attempt to reverse the conditions (and no other alternative could in our situation take place) of the present master and slave. It would be, moreover, impolicy as it respects their own interest; because if they could, even without bloodshed, effect a general emancipation, the influence of the southern states in the general government would be augmented, and that of the northern states comparatively depressed, in the ratio of five to three. It is indiscriminately cruel, because from the nature of the contest their measures tend to excite, if the party they favor should succeed, it would be a war of extermination to their white fellow citizens, their wives and children; as was the case in St. Domingo. If detected, as in the present instance, they see how many of those whose conditions they wished to ameliorate, must necessarily be the victims of the law of self defence;—victims of their misguided interference!—But such is the state of political enthusiasm among many of the less informed inhabitants of those states, extended by the agitation of the Missouri question to some who formerly held more moderate opinions, and had taken juster views of our situation, that all we can do is to be vigilant to detect any emissaries, and to stop all incendiary publications which may be sent from that quarter."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

No. XIV.

DEAR SISTER—

I have observed, that although the language is nearly the same in all parts of our country, yet a considerable diversity of customs and manners prevail—excepting, that in a pretty general disposition for acquiring wealth, and in the cultivation of that amiable quality called *decency*—*alias pride*, there seems to be a very striking uniformity, and from the luxuriant growth, which it is acquiring under the fostering care of its attentive cultivators, there appears to be a promising prospect of a plentiful harvest of its fruits and effects in every climate. This disposition seems to be the predominant passion, and to have obtained popular currency among all classes of the general population;—but in some other respects there is considerable diversity, forming a contrast as striking on the one hand, as the foregoing uniformity is impressive on the other. In the states and Territories of our country, where *sla-*

very is not tolerated, & in the other states, those who wish to make the Saviour's Golden Rule, their rule of life, and conduct, all voluntarily bear their own share of the curse of toil and sweat which was denounced by the Almighty, on offending man,—and their motto is—*work or starve*; but too many in all parts choose the latter; and are pests to society, doing no good for themselves or any body else.

But in most places, where the people have contrived by injustice, to shift themselves out from under that part of the curse which retales to personal labor, and by violence, have compelled their brethren of the African race to bow themselves under a tenfold share of it, if possible, dissipation reigns predominant; and idleness, the well known parent of the blackest vices, stalks openly without rebuke.

In travelling over some of those proprietaries, where slaves are very numerous, at almost every seven or eight miles distance, you come to a *tippling house*, where a few goods are kept for sale—here, and at the numerous *race paths*, of which the country is plentifully supplied, the *gentry*, that have nothing to do at home, meet at an early hour of the day, to spend the money, which their emaciated slaves had earned under the lash of a merciless, and infuriated overseer!

At the tying places of these several *Bacchanalian sanctuaries*, the ground has acquired the consistency of brick, by the daily stamping of the horses, whilst the bark from the surrounding saplins, have been gnawed by the starving animals, from the ground upwards as high as they could reach, to allay their hunger, while their humane masters, within, were too busily employed in shuffling and dashing on the table, those spotted leaves called cards, with the chorus of oaths and curses passing round, with as much currency as the glass, or the *horn tumbler*, to pay any attention to the starving beasts that had carried them to these places of daily rendezvous.

If you attend at the *races*, or at those other honorable employments of gentlemen of respectability, the *cock fights*, you see no more traits of morality amongst the busy occupants, than if *Bedlam and Billingsgate* had both broke loose,—had come into close contact, and had surrounded you with all their phrensiad curses and blasphemous imprecations. The eager betting, stamping, and loud huzzas, add horrors indescribable to the abominable scene, and would drive a man of sober reflection from the place, as from the overthrow of Sodom.

and Gomorrah! If these, and the like acts of immorality, are perpetrated in open day, and are gloried in by many—what may not be the crimes of these sons of idleness, and votaries of vice, under the curtains of midnight darkness?

These remarks have led me to a recollection of some observations, made by *Patrick Blather*, an Irishman, who had lived several months in the family of an opulent nabob. *Pat*, (to use his own phraseology) declared “that if he should chance to live his whole lifetime, and even a great deal longer too, that he would never marry a girl that had been raised with a family of slaves; and to explain himself, he related the case of a young lady, Miss.....who had been observed to exercise more tenderness over one of her father’s young male slaves, than she commonly did over the females: that after some time, the young lady became sickly, and so squeamish, that she could seldom eat, as she used to do—her face grew clouded, and her limbs and body began to swell. Her poor parents became seriously alarmed at her dangerous situation, and sent her away to a very distant relation, for the recovery of her health—that after some months, the young lady returned home again, finely recovered; and was married, not long after, to a young gentleman from a distance, who had (as every circumstance seemed to testify) been the cause of one of his father’s black girls being very ailing for some months; and that it was firmly believed by many that if the white lady’s disorder had publicly fallen into her arms, as the black girl’s did, that it would have been of the same complexion.”

Whether *Pat* gave a true statement of the case, above related, or not, I am not prepared to say; but without doubt there are many cases in the parts where slaves are numerous, that answer to it, as face answers to face in a glass, if we may judge from the vast numbers of mulattoes, which compose no small part of the slave population; nor can it be supposed that all these mixtures, have had black mothers.

It has been said, that some of the Irish, at some early period, led their offspring into servitude; and that a law was enacted by the government to put a stop to a practice so revolting to human nature; but it is confidently believed by some, that there are instances innumerable in republican and christian professing America, of *parents enslaving and selling their own children*, and yet there is no law enacted to prohibit the diabolical deed!

If those who plead the example of *Abraham* in justification of slave holding, should also imitate him by going to bed to their *black Hagars*, as he did to *Sarah’s* maid, they surely ought to follow his example, by setting *their Ishmaels* free.

It appears far more probable that the dissipated masters whether young or old, who have been raised in idleness, and living in luxury and extravagance, upon the labour of their degraded slaves, should be the fathers of the mulatto children, or other grades of mixture that are found in their kitchens, and quarters, than that they should belong to poor men in their neighborhoods, to whom the crime may often be wrongfully charged. If the laws of our country had admitted the oaths of female slaves as a sufficient test to commit *white* men, there can be no doubt, but many of the *respectables* in our nation, who are the real, would, in the law phraseology, have stood convicted for being the *reputed* fathers of coloured sons and daughters, that they are ashamed to own; but many instances have occurred, of *white women* having had coloured children, and the persons were proved to be the mothers, without the attestation of an oath; in all probability, there are very many instances of *white females* carrying on illicit connection with black or coloured men with as much secrecy, and with as much success, as attended the circumstance related by honest *Pat*. Be this as it may, mixtures abound in the slave sections, and there is more reason to believe that they are the offspring of the *idle high fed drones* who keep them in *slavery*, or *sell* them to others for the same purpose, after the reprobated example of the unenlightened Irish, in former ages, than that they are the children of the laborious poor. O slavery, thou bane of society, thou corruptor of the morals of rational beings! Thou child of the bottomless pit, & scourge of mortal man! When wilt thou cease to mutilate the works of God, and to make war on the harmony of Nature? Heaven finds no fault with human complexions; but for men & women to have *black skins* and *woolly heads* is so daring a sin against the hierarchy of hell, that it appears as if it could never willingly leave off taking vengeance on the objects of its resentment!

Slavery is the parent of idleness, and that is the foster mother and nurse of every vice. Where slavery abounds, the morals of the people are much looser, than where they obey the ordinance of Heaven, in “working with their own hands,” and in

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

the sweat of their own faces, eat their bread.

But it will be said by some, "that religion flourishes as much in the slave states, as any where else; and that as great revivals have taken place in those sections of country, as in any of the free states." To this I would reply: that if religion flourishes at all, or even exists in slave states, it must be exclusively among the slaves, or that part of the white population, who are opposed to the principles of slavery; for I am persuaded, that it is altogether as possible to "drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils," with divine approbation, as for a genuine slave holder to be in possession of genuine gospel religion. As to the great revivals that are said to have taken place in those regions of despotism, I fear that it might puzzle a Jesuit to find many of the subjects of these gracious dispensations, if their religion is to be judged of upon the principles of moral rectitude and evangelical righteousness, instead of bombastic professions, and fiery zeal. That *fanaticism* flourishes in many parts of the slave states, as well as elsewhere, and that there has been *great revivals of profession* in the slave sections, I have no disposition to deny; but as I am such a stubborn unbeliever, that I can take no man or woman's assertions of their fanciful visions and wild chimerical imaginations of the brain, for proof of their having gospel religion, I am under the necessity of having recourse to other testimony, and take my criterion from the words of the *Supreme Judge*:—"A good tree bringeth not forth evil fruit"—"the tree is known by its fruit"—"Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles." Now when I look about amongst these zealous professors and subjects of the *great revivals*, and see, perhaps a majority of them, notwithstanding their flaming devotion in the great assemblies, bearing the fruits of *personal oppression, extortion, covetousness, pride, circumvention, and conformity to the world*, with a *variety of others*, which belong to the works of darkness, and compare them with the *fruits of christianity*, as described in the New Testament, I become a firm believer in the assertion of Christ, that "not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven."—Nay, when I see many of the zealous slave holding clergy, riding at ease in their splendid carriages of pleasure, or otherwise, under pretence of preaching the gospel, while their illiterate, uninformed slaves are at home amassing wealth for them, un-

der the lash of a deputy nobis, I inwardly exclaim—*like people like priests*, & sum up my conclusions, that as the heart of one man, answers to that of another, so do the fruits of these *christians* agree with those of the followers of *blatancy*; & that how wide soever they may differ in their religious creeds, yet they are both under the government of the same spirit, and equally entitled to the joys of paradise.

I am, &c.

IRENEUS.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

When contemplating on the evil effects of slavery in this country, I am filled with astonishment that a nation which bears the name of christian, should be so ignorant, or I might say wicked, as to practise an evil that is in every way calculated to bring down the judgment of heaven upon the land. Slavery is in its nature, cruel, unjust, and contrary to every principle of religion, virtue and humanity. The judgments of heaven are now abroad in our land, and unless we repent of this our wickedness, we may expect that it is but the beginning of sorrow;—though vengeance seemeth to delay, yet it will come with unabated fury. We may boldly assert that slavery is made up of every diabolical ingredient that treachery, cruelty and murder can invent; and I think it may be said with great propriety, that it is calculated to bring its votaries into the situation of that people, spoken of in scripture, who are past feeling:—Slavery is of a petrifying nature.

A human creature is not, or ought not to be an article of traffic; for on serious examination, we cannot find that God's law gives the absolute disposal of one man's life and property to another: no man can possibly make any equivalent for a human soul, and on these principles, no human being can honestly purchase a fellow mortal. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets." These are the words of him that spake as never man spake. And it is evident that in all cases, to yield obedience to the commands of the Almighty, is the only way to secure to ourselves permanent and lasting happiness; and we may rest assured, that God will always protect those who act in conformity to his will. "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God? Now I would ask where fe

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the justice that will permit us to hold one of the human family in involuntary bondage? In place of mercy, the most cruel tyranny and usurpation is exercised by slave-holding tyrants, although many of them are heaven-daring enough to call themselves christians! And instead of walking humbly with God, they have exalted themselves even up to heaven in the sight of men; but it is to be feared that the period is nigh at hand, when they shall be abased and cast down to hell, unless they repent.

It is written "love worketh no ill to his neighbor." But holding our fellow mortals in slavery, is working the greatest ill to them, for the spirit of slavery is in direct opposition to the spirit of love;—we must believe that love to God and all mankind is the genuine spirit of christianity, and he who loves God, will love his brother also; alas! is this the way we show our love to God and to our brethren! Again, it is written "thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him; ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child; if thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry, and my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless." St. James saith, "Behold the hire of your laborers who have reaped down your fields, and which you have kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

O ye slave-holding professors! let me tell you that while you try to justify slavery by scripture, that ye wrest the scriptures to your own destruction, and are in danger of partaking of the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity. Your hearts are not right in the sight of God. This therefore, will be your condemnation, that "light has come into the world, and you love darkness rather than light, because your deeds are evil." This baneful practice has infected, not only the heathen; not only the infidel, and the scoffers of religion; not only those who, like the unjust judge, neither fear God nor regard man; but we see men professing christianity, professing themselves to be genuine followers of the Messiah, openly violating the sacred mandates of heaven, by buying and selling those souls for whom Christ died, over whom God never gave them any control! Let us look for a moment at the inconsistency of these men;—

they profess to believe God's word, and still act directly opposite to it, while almost every page is big with threatenings and awful denunciations against the oppressor.—Slave-holders would look more like what they really are, and be more consistent, if they would throw the bible aside, and declare that religion is a farce, while they act in the manner they do. These men can boast of the rights of man, and talk of liberty and the soundness of our constitution, while their actions are contradictory to their words in every point, as it respects freedom. Let such men quit boasting of freedom, and plead for a monarchical government at once. O my christian brethren! let us unitedly besiege the throne of grace in the behalf of suffering humanity, that God in his wisdom may devise some means by which this great national sin may be extirpated from our land. God has said, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and thieves do not break through and steal." But still among these slave-holding professors I charitably hope there are some, who even now see the inconsistency of the system so far, that they are only waiting for an opportunity to liberate them on safe grounds, as it respects their temporal estates. And we, my brethren, that have set our hands to this great work, believing that God hath given us a talent which may be exercised in that way, let us be faithful to the trust our Lord has reposed in us, knowing that ere long we must stand before the judgment seat of Christ. Let us never disgrace the cause we have espoused. Let us look for a moment at the church of God, how it groans under this heavy burden;—and let us take the word of God for the man of our counsel, which is the only standard for both our faith and practice. And we who profess to be adopted into the family of heaven, let our upright walk, and godly conversation be expressive of the same. Let us endeavor to spend our lives in that way that will most redound to God's glory, and to the benefit of our fellow mortals. And although our prospects may not be as bright as we could wish, yet let us remember that we are on the Lord's side, and that Him that is for us, is mightier than all that can be against us.

May the time soon come when slavery, and all its consequences may be buried in oblivion, is the ardent desire of a friend to

humanity and an advocate of justice.

JUVENILE PHILANTHROPIST.

Approved by a committee of the Manu-
mission Society of Tennessee, 14th Decem-
ber, 1822.

ABRAHAM MARSHALL, Ch'm.
T. DOAN, Clk.

A VOICE FROM GEORGIA.

A letter from Washington gives the fol-
lowing sketch of a speech made by Mr.
TARNALL of Georgia, against the bill for
increasing the duties on imposts, *alias*, a
bill more effectually to protect certain do-
mestic manufactures. He moved to strike
off the first section of the bill. He declar-
ed the bill to be an "infernal" one;—that
the people of the south would not submit
to the principles of its friends;—and "*Oh
Heaven,*" he exclaimed, "*they should not
submit, they ought not to submit, and they
would not submit to them!*"—"What," he
asked, "will be the effect of this bill? It
will benefit a few, but it will make the pop-
ulation miserable, fit only for the fetid air
of despotism; wretched and ever ready to
surrender their liberties without an effort.
It will destroy commerce. It will filch
from industry its earnings—stop up the
highway of labor, and introduce among us
a slavery the most abhorrent and degrad-
ing." "If," he added, "I am to be a slave,
let it be to some scaring, superior genius;
to some individual of mighty mind and gen-
erous ambition. If I am to be a slave, let
me at least bow down to the shrine of ma-
jesty, that I may see something to admire,
and not to the golden calf of sordid inter-
est."

Mr. Burrows, of Conn. alluding to Mr.
T's expression of "*infernal*," remarked,
that the epithet could come only from an
infernal source.— *Essex Register.*

[If our republican slave holders are so
much opposed to bowing to any thing but
"THE SHRINE OF MAJESTY!" why
do they compel others to walk, cap in
hand, before them?—But here we have an
exemplification of the workings of their
minds. many of them have become so fa-
miliar with the work of oppression, that
they would like to see it established upon
a large scale, especially if they themselves
could profit by it. Such care for the spread
of the principles of liberty no further than
it may subserve their own interests, and
the moment they may have it in their pow-
er they will not hesitate to erect in our
country an image of "*Majesty*," at which
we all will be compelled to bow. Let the

people consider these things. The lofty
tone of such upstart lordlings is past endu-
rance. They would embroil the states in a
war if it were in their power, in the hope
that they might ride on the whirlwind, and
direct the storm of popular commotion.
They are the *choice spirits* of the nation, of
whom it has been said, they would "*ra-
ther reign in hell, than serve in heaven!*"

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

THE SORROWS OF YAMBA.

(Continued from page 144.)

Thus full many a Negro dies,
Ere he reach the destined shore.
Drove like cattle to a fair.
See they sell us young and old;
Child from mother too they tear,
All for sake of filthy gold!
I 'as sold to massa hard,—
Some have massas kind and good,
And again my back was scarr'd,
Bad and stinted was my food.
Poor and wounded, faint and sick,
All exposed to winter sky:—
Now he bids me grass to pick,
And I now am near to die.
What, and tho' to death he send me,
Savage murder tho' it be,
British laws will not protect me,
They protect not slaves like me.
Mourning thus my wretched fate,
Ne'er may I forget the day,
When in dusk of ev'ning late,
Far from home I dared to stray.
Dar'd alas, with impious haste,
Toward the roaring sea to fly;
Death itself I lov'd to taste,
Long'd to cast me in and die.
There I met upon the strand,
English missionary good;
He had Bible book in hand,
Which poor me no understood.
Then he led me to his cot,
Sooth'd and pitied all my woe:
Told me 'twas the christian's lot
Much to suffer here below:
Told me then of God's dear son,
Strange and wondrous is the story.
What sad wrong to him was done,
Tho' he was the Lord of glory.
Told the like as one who knew him;
(Can such love as this be true?)
How he died for those that s'ew him,
Died for wretched Yamba too.
(Conclusion in next No.)

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 12. VOL. II.

FIFTH MONTH, 8, 1823.

WHOLE No. 24.

Scarcely any thing original is admitted in this number, as I wished to give the reader a pretty general idea of what is going on, with respect to the system of slavery, in Illinois. Several articles will be found on that subject in the succeeding pages; and I am indebted to some kind, tho' unknown, friend, for a handbill containing the Governor's message to the Legislature, also one embracing the report of a committee on a part of the message in which their attention is called to the situation of coloured people in that State. These papers were received by the last mail, and the person who sent them, will please accept my thanks for his attention. In a future number I shall copy that part of the message to which I have just alluded, and shall also try to make room for the whole of the report of the committee. I am glad to see that a very lively interest manifests itself among the people of that State, relative to the all-important question of "Freedom or Slavery," and I shall not be in the least surprised if this manoeuvre of the advocates of oppression shall have the effect of enlarging the territory assigned to Liberty, and circumscribing the limits of petty despotism in a considerable degree.

I am indebted to the politeness of some unknown person, for the New York Advertiser of the 14th of 3d month last, from which the following article is copied:

The Legislature of South Carolina, in the month of December last, passed an act, which is published in a Supplement to the Columbian Telescope, of February 4th—the title of which is—"An act for the better regulation and government of Free People and Persons of Colour, and for other purposes." That the provisions of this act, in a variety of particulars, violate the constitution of the United States, as well as the absolute, inherent, and unalienable rights of men in civil society, we entertain not a doubt. Our object, at the present time, however, is not so much to discuss this part of the subject, as to notice one section of the act which ought to be extensively known throughout the other states, for the purpose of securing masters of vessels, as well as free persons of colour, who, in

the pursuit of their lawful business, may resort to that state for the purpose of trading and doing business in their sea-ports.—That section is in the following words—"That if any vessel shall come into any port or harbor in this state, from any other state or foreign port, having on board any free negroes, or persons of colour as cooks, stewards, mariners, or in any other employment on board of said vessel, such free negroes or persons of colour, shall be liable to be seized and confined in jail, until said vessel shall clear out and depart from this state. And when the said vessel is ready to sail, the captain of said vessel shall be bound to carry away the said free negro, or free persons of colour, and to pay the expences of his detention; and in case of his neglect or refusal so to do, he shall be liable to be indicted, and on conviction thereof, shall be fined in a sum not less than one thousand dollars, and imprisoned not less than two months; and such free negroes or persons of colour, shall be deemed and taken as absolute slaves, and sold in conformity to the provisions of the act passed on the 26th day of December, 1820, aforesaid."

We are perfectly aware, that this act of the South Carolina legislature, has been passed under the excitement of feeling and fear produced by the attempt at insurrection among their slaves the last season. But neither these fears, nor any other state of mind, can justify such an outrage as this measure is intended to sanction. Many free blacks are employed as seamen on board our merchant vessels, coasters, &c. and we believe in the United States navy. These men, having as much right to the unmolested enjoyment of freedom, while they commit no crime, as the governor of South Carolina, and whilst engaged in the lawful pursuits of their business, and endeavoring to acquire the means of an honest livelihood, are liable to be forcibly taken from the vessel to which they belong, and shut up in prison, there to remain for days, weeks, or months, as the vessel may happen to be detained; and then the master, after having been thus forcibly and against his will, deprived of their services, is bound under the penalty of severe fine and imprisonment,

to carry them away from South Carolina, and what is certainly most extraordinary, he is to pay the expences of their detention while thus unjustly, arbitrarily and wickedly imprisoned.

These facts ought to be known, both for the security of the free blacks, and the masters of vessels who may be employed in the coasting or other trade with that state.—We have understood that the act is so rigorously enforced, that an attempt has been even made to take some persons of colour from one of the armed vessels of the United States; a step that was prevented only by the spirited conduct of the officer who commanded the ship. Whether this be correct or not, we do not know; but the people who could be brought to pass such an act, doubtless mean to carry it into strict execution.

There is one provision in this section, that exceeds in enormity any thing that we could have imagined of the like kind. We allude to the provision, that if any free people of colour shall be imprisoned under the act, and left behind by the masters of the vessels from which they were taken, *shall be considered absolute slaves, and sold as such.* No legislative body can constitutionally pass such an act as this. No legislative body can order a free man to be sold for a slave who has committed to criminal offence.

We hope if any free black shall be imprisoned by virtue of this law, that as soon as he gets out, he will immediately bring his action before the United States' court for false imprisonment, and have the question eventually tried by the Supreme court of the United States. Any such man will find friends and means in this part of the country to enable him to seek for justice for such a flagrant outrage against his personal liberty and security.

Observations by a Member of the Board of Public Works of S. Carolina, &c.
(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 143.)

Another great cause of discontent among the slaves in towns, and which it becomes our duty to remedy, is, that many mechanics and others hire their own time from their owners. If they are intelligent and industrious, they undertake work on their own account, by which they make a great deal of money which they spend as they please, and by that means, create a great degree of jealousy among the others, who are not allowed similar privileges. If they are vicious and ill disposed, it puts it

in their power to do a great deal of mischief. Another source of disquiet among the slaves, one which perhaps justice and equity prevents our remedying, or which at least cannot be remedied but on the plea of expediency and the great law of nature, self-preservation, is the great number of free negroes and other coloured people who live among us. Some few of them are honest and respectable, but the greatest number are otherwise. Their mixing with our slaves, renders them dangerous by their counsels and the example of the idle or dissolute lives which many of them lead. Would it not be well for our legislature to prevent the increase of their number by obliging all slaves who hereafter shall acquire their their freedom, by any means whatsoever, to leave the state?

Among the several means that suggest themselves to us, none seem so well calculated to answer the end in view, as those by which the white population would be considerably augmented.—This, however, requires some exertions on our part and some money judiciously expended; for as the tide of emigration from Europe does not set this way, it is necessary to give it a direction. As for emigration from other states to this, we conceive it not so desirable as that from Europe, because, by it, we would gain population at the expense of our neighbours, and that by the other, not only the increase of the population of this state would be effected, but that of the United States. Neither would emigration from other states favor the plan here to be developed; besides, we have not for the inhabitants of other states, except mechanics, inducements to emigration equal to those offered by the rich soil of the western country.

All writers on political economy agree in one particular, which, it is presumed, no one will attempt to dispute, and that is, that the power and wealth of states is always in proportion to their effective population. Therefore the great object of governments is, or ought to be to promote the population of their country in proportion to its territorial extent and resources, by introducing every article of culture, commerce or industry, suitable for them, that the people may be industrious, honest and happy, as well as numerous. We have here an uncommon inducement for endeavoring to produce such a state of things, and it is that were our state thickly inhabited by an industrious class of white people, our slaves would never think of mak-

ing any attempt at an insurrection. Besides this, if it should ever be thought advisable to suppress slavery entirely and send away the emancipated blacks to where they might be independent and happy, if they would be industrious, we should have a population of whites ready to spread itself on our richer lands.

Supposing the state of South Carolina to contain sixteen millions of acres, (accuracy is not here essential) it is thought that nearly one half of it is pine barrens, sand-hills and other pine lands amounting therefore to about eight millions, out of which ought to be deducted about three millions for the water courses and our rich swamp lands bordering on them, and a small quantity of pine land of a better quality, which is presumed to be a full allowance. There remains then an extent of five millions of acres of pine barrens and sand hills, which support at present but a very scanty population of such inefficient people, with some few exceptions, that it may not be considered as adding in the least to the wealth or power of the state. The land itself is considered as of little or no value in its present state. Is this vast tract of country really of no value? and is it not capable of useful productions, and of supporting a more numerous and better class of people? This is what we are going to examine.

In what precedes let it not be imagined that we intend to cast indiscriminately any censure on all the inhabitants of the sand-hills. We know of some exceptions of honest and industrious people, which serve to prove that their lands have some value, as some of them live decently and raise numerous children; and, were they taught the raising of productions better adapted to their soil, might be in comparative affluence.

[After treating at considerable length, and dwelling with considerable emphasis on the propriety of adopting the measures which he recommends to increase the white population, &c. the author concludes thus:]

Let us also view in the prospect, the great security we should enjoy as the natural consequence of so great an increase of our white population, and the great facility which this state of things would give us to abolish slavery, if ever it should be thought advisable to do so. Such a state of prosperity is so dazzling that it seems as if we were basking in the sunshine of visionary schemes, rather than coolly and soberly deliberating on the means of attaining a practical reality.

LIBERIA,

THE UNITED STATES COLONY IN AFRICA.

BALTIMORE, April 14.

The handsome, fast sailing brig *Oswego*, left this port yesterday for Liberia, the American colony in Africa. On Saturday afternoon Dr. AYRES, attended by the Rev. Mr. GURLEY, General Agent of the American Colonization Society, the Secretary of the Maryland Auxiliary Society, PETER GALT, Esq. and several others, went on board the brig to witness the solemnity of the new colonists taking the oath of allegiance to their adopted country. After a religious service of praise, prayer and exhortation by the Rev. Mr. ALLEN, a colored preacher from Philadelphia, and the Rev. Mr. GURLEY;—Dr. AYRES addressed the emigrants and exhibited to their view the difficulties and dangers they would probably have to encounter, and the deprivations they might suffer; assured them that they were at liberty to withdraw if they pleased, and if they had any inclination to remain in this country, they would then retire. He made many judicious observations on the necessity of harmony and good conduct in every respect, and obedience to the authority set over them.—He spoke of the great exertions made in their behalf, and the expectations of their friends here, of the success and prosperity of the colony resulting from their good conduct. The oath of allegiance was then administered by Peter Galt, Esq. to about 25 men. It was an interesting and impressive scene.

The passengers amount to sixty-three, of men, women and children (all in good health)—as respectable as any colored people in this country. Many of them are well educated, and all of them very intelligent. Among them is a late slave of DANIEL MURRAY, Esq. whose master not only gave him liberty, but furnished him with supplies to aid him in the new settlement.—There are good grounds to be confident that Mr. Murray's example will be followed by many, as soon as the colony becomes more settled, and in a more prosperous condition. Yesterday morning the brig lying out in the stream, was visited by an immense number of persons, and a large crowd was on the wharves to see her departure. She takes out an uncommonly intelligent man of considerable talents and good judgment. He has travelled eight years through various parts of Asia—has been in most parts of the countries of Europe and South America, and now visits Africa to explore the river Mesurado, and ascertain its proximity

ty to the Niger. His name is ABEL HERD; he is a native of Frederick county.

We understand that there is a trading society formed with the approbation of the American Colonization Society, to open a trade with Liberia and the neighboring coast, by whom one or more vessels will be kept constantly employed. The first vessel it is expected, will sail from this port in the next month, and will probably take passengers.

WAR WITH THE COLONISTS. FROM CAPE MONTSERADO.

The Baltimore Morning Chronicle gives a statement, from which it appears that the American Colonists on the west coast of Africa enjoy good health, but are exposed to a worse affliction than sickness:

The acting agent writes, under date of November 30: "Nearly all the tribes around us are combined in war against us. Their principle object is plunder. They attacked us on the morning of the 11th November, at break of day, 800 in number, killed, and mortally wounded, one man, one boy, and one woman; wounded four others, and took captive seven children. All our forces have for a month stood upon their arms through the night." The enemy appeared in one compact body, and drove the whole company, after wounding one half, into the town. They were, however, in twenty minutes afterwards, compelled to retreat in a solid mass, the centre of which was raked by a long 18, loaded with grape. They carried away nearly all their dead and wounded.

On the morning of the 2d of December, The colony was again attacked by the native warriors, swelled in number to 1,500. The attack was made in two opposite points at the same time; but, so determined was the defence, and so great was the terror spread among the natives by the *great guns*, that the yell for a retreat was soon sounded, and the whole 1,500 ran away in great consternation.

The morning after the second battle, the commandant of the British armed schooner Prince Regent, then providentially in the offing, sent about 20 marines to the assistance of the colonists, with a supply of ammunition and provisions. Captain Iang, the late celebrated African traveller, than whom no man on the continent is better acquainted with the native character, the next day entered into a negotiation with the head men for a peace. They unanimously consented to a truce, and to submit

all differences to governor McCarthy, under whose mediation a treaty of peace is to be entered into. The British marines are left to keep up the truce—and, by this happy arrangement, the trade with the natives for poultry, &c. has been renewed.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ILLINOIS.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 141.)

As to the establishment of slavery among us, as a part of our civil polity, we entertain but one opinion, an opinion as immovable as the foundations of the earth. It is foreign to our purpose to enter into an elaborate discussion of the momentous topic. But we feel it our duty to state, that it would be *illegal*, and in *violation of public faith, unjust, and inexpedient*. Illegal and in violation of public faith, because the American people, in the exercise of their sovereign capacity, thirty-five years ago last July, published a solemn declaration to the world that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crimes, in the North Western territory, of which Illinois formed a part. More emphatic language for its utter prohibition could not have been used. This declaration assumed the form of a compact with the inhabitants of the then territory, and with all those who should thereafter come here to reside, and was only to be abolished by the mutual consent of both parties. Has congress ever done any thing to abolish it on their part? So far from it, in their act of April, 1818, we are permitted to make a constitution of state government, in conformity with the ordinance of 1787, and that constitution in its preamble, recognizes the validity of that ordinance. But now, forsooth, because we are admitted in the union on an equal footing with the other states, we can violate the faith we have once so solemnly pledged to the American people. Nations can make treaties one day, and violate them the next, but they have not the right to do so; nor can it be done without incurring the charge of national perfidy. It is not our design to pursue this argument into all its bearings and detail; nor are we prepared to speak with certain confidence, as to the obligations of the ordinance of '87, upon the people of Illinois, since their admission into the union; but with our present impressions, we are constrained to say, that slavery cannot be legally admitted among us, without the consent of the national government:—and we cannot suppress our fears that an attempt to obtain that consent, might en-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

danger the union of these states, light the torch of civil discord, and render them "frightful with desolation."

2. Slavery is unjust, because it is a gross usurpation over a part of our fellow beings, for our interest and convenience, and not theirs. An usurpation, whose prohibition is written by the finger of GOD upon the face of all his works. *Unjust*, because it is appropriating the fruits of *their* labor to feed *our* mouths. *Unjust*, because it is sinking *them* in mental degradation, to support *us* in indolence and ease. *Unjust*, because it is extinguishing in their bosoms the love of country, the strongest incentive to worthy actions; for, in the language of the illustrious Jefferson, "If a slave can have a country in the world, it would be in any other in preference to that in which he is born, to live and labor for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature; contribute as far as depends upon his individual endeavors, to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him." It would be pre-eminently unjust for the people of Illinois, because they have not the plea of necessity to justify them. *We* have them not, and know how to do without them. Is there a corner of the christian world, where it is attempted to justify slavery as an abstract right?

What a strange spectacle would be presented to the civilized world, to see the people of Illinois, yet innocent of this great national sin, and in the full enjoyment of all the blessings of free government, sitting down in solemn convention to deliberate and determine whether they should introduce among them a portion of their fellow beings, to be cut off from those blessings, to be loaded with the chain of bondage, and rendered unable to leave any other legacy to their posterity, than the inheritance of their own servitude! The wise and the good of all nations would blush at our political depravity. Our professions of republicanism and equal freedom would incur the derision of despots, and the scorn and reproach of tyrants. We should write the epitaph of free government upon its tombstone!

3. It is inexpedient; because it will retard the prosperity of our state for years to come. Emigration into it will cease from every quarter. From the slave holding states, because it will be a long time before there will be any decision of the national courts upon the effect of the ordinance; and no man from those states will venture hither with his slaves, so long as he may in-

cur the risk of losing them. There will be no emigration from the other states, because the people of those states will not take up their abode where slavery is tolerated. It is inexpedient, because slavery is not essential to the growth and prosperity of a country; and of the truth of this remark, the states of Kentucky and Ohio furnish speaking evidence.

In the name of the unborn millions who will rise up after us, and call us blessed or accursed, according to our deeds—in the name of the injured sons of Africa, whose claims to equal rights with their fellow men will plead their own cause against their usurpers before the tribunal of Eternal Justice, we conjure you, fellow citizens, to PONDER UPON THESE THINGS.

RISDON MOORE,
WILLIAM KINKADE,
G. CADWELL,
A. BANKSON,
JACOB OGLE,
CURTISS BLAKEMAN,
ABRAHAM CAIRNS,
THOMAS MATHER,
WILLIAM LOWRY,
JAMES SIMS,
DANIEL PARKER,
GEORGE CHURCHILL,
GILBERT T. PELL,
DAVID M'GAHEY,
STEPHEN STILLMAN.

Vandalia, 18th February, 1823.

FROM THE EDWARDSVILLE SPECTATOR.
THE ADDRESS OF THE MINORITY.

This interesting appeal to the people is inserted in the first page, and to which we would call the attention of our readers.

It is more than two years and a half since we had the temerity to proclaim, that a project was formed for the purpose of introducing SLAVERY into Illinois. We do not say that, had we been aware of the violence, and the unrelenting persecution to which that declaration subjected us, we should not have made it; but certain it is, that its consequences have been such, as an individual of our humble means and capacity could not well sustain, deserted as we were by some of those who, by every principle of honor, were bound to give us their countenance and support.

We warned the people of the *conception* of this project, which was *without the states* and although at that time denounced as a calumniator for so doing, we have now, at least, the names of *fifteen* highly respectable men, who say they have witnessed its *development*.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

The subject now assumes a more tangible shape; and we hope the assertion of the *existence of a slave party*, will no longer incur the risk of life. The hazard has certainly, in some degree, abated; for, *although the present Executive was, in 1820, the author of the violence and persecution to which we have alluded*, the peculiar situation in which he is now placed, in relation to this question, is such as to afford a reasonable expectation, that his paralyzing influence will not be directed against us.

FROM THE SAME.

On Thursday the 6th inst. at the house of Judge Gilmore, a public dinner was given to Jonathan H. Pugh, Esq. the representative from Bond county. This tribute of respect was induced by his legislative course having met the general approbation of his constituents, and more particularly by his vote against the convention question. An address was delivered to him expressive of the high gratification which his political career had afforded, and of the regret occasioned by his determination to fix his future residence in the county of Sangamo; to which he made an appropriate, feeling reply. After dinner a meeting was held according to previous intention, when the Rev. Aquilla Suggs, being chosen to the chair, and John Laughlin, Esq. appointed secretary, the following resolutions [among others] were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we cordially approve of the conduct of our representative, Jonathan H. Pugh, Esq. in voting against the question for a new convention.

Resolved, That the extraordinary proceedings of the majority in the late legislature, to procure the passage of the convention bill, are calculated to justify the belief that the introduction of *unlimited slavery* in Illinois, is the prime object of the principal actors; and that we will, therefore, use every lawful endeavor to oppose the formation of a convention, by which desperate intrigue may possibly effect a change in our constitution, hostile to freedom.

Resolved, That we will encourage the circulation of such newspapers, printed within the state, as are opposed to slavery, and to the means by which it may be introduced; and that we will raise funds for the printing and gratuitous distribution of *tracts* favorable to the cause of freedom.

Resolved, That we will unite in electing those only, to fill offices of public trust, who are opposed to calling a new convention.

From the Illinois Intelligencer.

(EXTRACTS.)

EXTRAORDINARY LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS.

"You rogues, you rogues, you're all found out,

And we, the PEOPLE, I've no doubt

Will put a period to your dashing,

And honest men shall come in fashion."

Soon after the commencement of the present session of the General Assembly, a Mr. Shaw, from Pike county, appeared in Vandalia, for the purpose of contesting the right of Nicholas Hansen to hold a seat in the House of Representatives, and who had been admitted a member from that county. He presented a variety of documents to the House, with a view to shew that a majority of the votes had been given for him. They were read in the House, and during the contest, Mr. Shaw was permitted to occupy a seat on the floor. After the House had been apprized of all the grounds upon which he rested his claim to Mr. Hansen's seat, they were referred to a select committee, who reported that Mr. Hansen was entitled to the seat; and this report, after a full view of the case, was concurred by the House, and he was permitted to retain his seat, unquestioned, from some of the first days of the session till the 12th instant, a period of about ten weeks. In the ordinary modes of legislation, the question to this seat would be considered as perfectly settled, and not again to be disturbed; and it is not perceived by what rule of parliamentary proceedings it could be opened for discussion, after such a lapse of time. In all deliberative, as well as judicial bodies, there is such a thing as a decision, and a *final* decision.

But a favorite object is to be accomplished;—the Convention Question must succeed, and whatever means may be necessary to effect it, however out of the way will be justified by the result. Mr. Hansen will vote *against* the convention, and Mr. Shaw *for* it, and the former must be removed to give place to the latter, and then it prevails.

On the morning of the 12th inst. a motion is accordingly made, that the House reconsider their vote, concurring in the report of the committee declaring the seat to belong to Mr. Hansen. The motion succeeds, and motion after motion is made and carried, until Mr. Hansen ceases to be, and Mr. Shaw becomes a member of the House.

It is for the people to pronounce its judgment upon such a proceeding. Shall a convention succeed by such means? Surely the great solicitude for its success cannot proceed merely from a wish to amend a harmless constitution. A solicitude which seems not to falter at the use of any means. A deeper object is in view—the introduction of Slavery into Illinois, and this some of the warmest advocates for a convention do not hesitate openly to avow. But against the success of such a project, I trust the people of Illinois will rise in the majesty of their strength. While the wise and the good of all nations are laboring with Herculean efforts to circumscribe and extinguish this tremendous evil, will the people of Illinois lay the foundation, and furnish the means, for extending and perpetuating this "foulest and broadest blot" upon the christian name?

I trust in God he will not permit these fairest portions of his earth to be trodden for ages to come by the foot of Slavery;—that he will not suffer them to be desolated by the greatest evil that ever escaped from Pandora's box. I trust there is a redeeming spirit in the people of Illinois—a deep-toned moral feeling on this subject, which on the day of trial will raise its voice upon the bank of the Ohio River, and proclaim to Slavery, Hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall the proud arm of thy oppression be stayed. A. B.

February 13th, 1823.

From the same.

In other states, every change which has hitherto taken place, has been in favor of emancipation. The annals of slavery in the United States afford no precedent of a people reverting to a system which is the abhorrence of the whole civilized world, and is acknowledged by all to be the bane of national prosperity.

Look at the state of Ohio and compare it with Kentucky;—at all the states which have emancipated themselves, and compare them with the slave states. Here are experiments on a large scale, so decisive and so uniform in their result against slavery, that if it were an affair of simple calculation, a question merely of political arithmetic, common sense would teach us to reject it.

It seems that the present object of the advocates of slavery is to obtain its admission under modifications. Slaves are to be introduced, with a provision that they or their children shall be liberated after a certain period, or at a certain age: thus we

are told in the report of the minority of the committee, as published by order of the House of Representatives—"Thousands would be restored to liberty to whose bondage there is now no prospect of a termination." "This," we are informed, "is the most that the advocates of slavery can at present hope to obtain." And it is thus that these gentlemen purpose to people this noble country! By a constant accession of Negroes, to be held in slavery during their youth, and manumitted in old age!

Suppose the system of unrestrained importation of slaves, and their consequent manumission, to have been in operation for forty years, (a short period in the history of states, though considerable in the life of man,) what would then be the nature of the population of Illinois? Dark, indeed, in complexion, but infinitely darker in moral character! But no: long before the lapse of forty years, the inordinate increase of free blacks would afford matter of complaint; and an easy and palatable remedy for this evil would be soon discovered;—a convention! to prohibit the further manumission of slaves!—This would be a feat of no difficulty to a majority of slave holders; but to wipe the stain from our population, in soul or in body, would exceed their power.

Extract from the Message of the Hon. CALLEN RODNEY, acting Governor of Delaware.

Slavery in every shape and form, and under any circumstances, is a blemish upon the fair fabric which we have erected in this country to liberty. Notwithstanding its deformity, to avoid a condition which might bring equal if not greater evils on society, we must bear the misfortune until time shall cure it. The voluntary emancipation of more than three hundred slaves, annually, by individuals, for the last thirty years, affords satisfactory evidence that the people from a sense of duty as christians, are favorable to its abolition.—Should the same course be continued for the next thirty years, to the extent of even a fourth of the yearly manumissions heretofore made, slavery will not exist in this state. To aid this prevailing, benevolent disposition, I recommend to the legislature the enacting of a law to prevent any person or persons who may move into this state, from any other state, with his or her family, and to become residents, from bringing any slave or slaves into the state, unless provision shall be made for their liberation, after a reasonable time of servi-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

itude; so that slavery shall not be tolerated in the state, except with those whose lot is already cast among us.

New Brunswick, (N. J.) Feb. 6.

They have a law in South Carolina, subjecting to seizure and confinement, and in certain circumstances, to loss of liberty, all free persons of colour brought into any ports or harbors of that state on ship-board. On entering the ports, all such negroes are to be immediately taken and conducted to jail, there to remain until the vessel is ready to depart, at the captain's expense—and in case the captain refuses to take them, he is made liable to fine and imprisonment, and the negroes are *deprived of their liberty*, considered as *absolute slaves*, and sold as such. This is the substance of an act, grossly absurd, tyrannical and unjust, and what we conceive to be unconstitutional.—*Fredonian*.

[Touch my interest—touch my life.—The editor of the "*Fredonian*" once got angry at me because I expressed my sentiments relative to certain advocates of slavery in pretty strong terms. Now, good liberty-loving soul, he can see nearly through a mill-stone, I suppose, since the gold dissolving application has removed the films from his purblind eyes.—*C. U. E.*]

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

THE SORROWS OF YAMBA.

(Concluded.)

Freely he has mercy proffered,
And to sinners he was sent;
E'en to massa, pardon's offered;
Oh, if massa would repent!
Wicked deed full many a time,
Wretched Yamba too hath done;
But she whils to God her crimes,
And she trusts his only son.
Oh ye slaves who masters beat,
Ye are stain'd with guilt withing,
As ye hope for mercy sweet,
So forgive your master's sin,
And with grief when sinking low;
Mark the road that Yamba trod,
Think how all her pain and wo
Brought the captive home to God.
Now let Yamba too adore
Gracious heaven's mysterious plan,
Now I'll count thy mercies o'er
Flowing through the guilt of man.

Now I bless my cruel capture
Since I've known a Saviour's name,
Now my grief is turn'd to rapture:
and I half forget to blame;
But tho' here a convert rare,
Thanks her God for grace divine,
Let not man the glory share,
Sinner still the guilt is thine.
Duly now baptised am I
By good missionary man,
Lord my nature purify,
As no outward water can.
All my former thoughts abhorr'd,
Teach me now to pray and praise,
Joy and glory in my lord,
Trust and serve him all my days.
But tho' death this hour may find me,
Still with Afric's love I burn,
There I've left a spouse behind me
Still to native land I turn.
And when Yamba sinks in death,
This my latest prayers shall be
While I yield my parting breath,
O that Afric might be free!
Cease ye British sons of murder,
Cease from forging Afric's chain,
Mock your Saviour's name no further,
Cease your savage lusts of gain.
Ye that boast ye rule the waves
Bid no slave-ship sail the sea,
Ye that never will be slaves
Bid poor Afric's land be free.
Where ye gave to war its birth,
Where your traders fixed their den;
There go publish peace on earth,
Go proclaim good will to men.
Where ye once have carried slaughter,
Vice and slavery and sin;
Seized on husband wife and daughter,
Let the Gospel enter in.
There where Yamba's native home,
Humble hut of rushes stood;
O if there should chance to roam
Some dear missionary good.
Tho' in Afric's distant land,
Still shall find the man I love,
Join him to the christian band,
Guide his soul to realms above.
There no fiend again shall grieve
Those whom God hath joined and blest;
There they dwell with him forever,
There the weary are at rest.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Several valuable communications are yet on file, and some of them shall be disposed of when the next Number is issued. "*Honesty*" is just received, and will be cheerfully admitted. "*Alonzo*" is partly in type, but I am sorry to say, is excluded this time on account of its length.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." — *Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 13. VOL. II.

FIFTH MONTH, 22, 1823.

WHOLE No. 25

The eighth Number of Vol. I. has been re-printed, and sent to such subscribers as had not received it. It is believed that all the Numbers have now been forwarded that ever were ordered; if, however, any mistakes have occurred, they shall be corrected as soon as the editor may be notified thereof.

Complete files of this work may now be had from the commencement. The editor requests his agents and friends in the different parts of the United States, to make this known, as he has been lately informed that many have expressed a wish to procure it from the first, who were uncertain whether the early Numbers could be had.

In a subsequent page will be found the *Valedictory address* of the editor of the *Abolition Intelligencer*. I had exerted myself not a little to aid his laudable endeavours, and am truly sorry that his paper has failed to receive the support necessary to its continuance. Altho' he has not succeeded to the extent of his wishes, and finds it necessary to relinquish the hope of effecting his benevolent purpose in the way he intended, still, he retires from the view of the public under the consoling reflection of having performed his duty as a Christian and a philanthropist; and the prayers of every good man will be that he may long enjoy the peace of mind, and tranquil satisfaction which his upright conduct so justly merits.

My thanks are due for the polite manner in which he has recommended my work to the notice of his friends; and while I feel gratified in having the good will of those I esteem, I consider this as emanating from a desire to benefit the public, and will do my part to second his views, as far as it may be in my power.

For this purpose, I propose to furnish the different branches of Abolition and Manumission societies in the state of Kentucky, and elsewhere, with sets of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, whenever they may appoint persons to receive them, at ten dollars per dozen copies, payable (if preferred) in six months from the time they are ordered, in the currency of the State or Territory in which such branches

are located. It will be expected that the cost of transportation will be paid by the purchasers, but if several copies are sent to one person it will not amount to more than 12, or at farthest 18 cts. a year for each.

Subscriptions may commence at any time, whether at the beginning, middle, or near the end of a volume.

THOMAS FOLEY—AGAIN:

"LAY ON MACDUFF!"—*I have seen them that could hit more adroitly, and strike a great deal harder.*

This conceited champion and advocate of slavery, has lately lavished upon me nearly four columns of tolerably well seasoned abuse, which no doubt pleased himself, and tickled the ears of his readers exceedingly. I have neither the leisure nor inclination to follow him in all his crooked meanderings, or to notice the whole of his rare and wonderful production. To be serious, I have seldom seen as miserable a farrago of sophistry and senseless rant exhibited to the view of an enlightened public, as this pigmy gladiator in the arena of American despotism has presented us with. He takes it in high dudgeon that I expressed a doubt as to his being the author of the editorial remarks levelled at me in his paper before, and he now signs his name in due form. It is very well, indeed, that he did so, for otherwise I might, at this time, have spelt it wrong—judging from the talent displayed in his performance, it would appear to be right and proper to introduce another o!—To give the reader an idea of the dexterity with which he handles his subject, I will take a few extracts from the article in which he has honored me with his particular notice, in so distinguished a manner.—In his first paragraph he says:

"It appeared to me to be a dangerous thing, in a slave holding state, to give publicity to such articles as generally appeared in that paper—a series of extravagant falsehoods, blazoning in the most horrible colors the cruelties of the whites on the Africans, and representing that race as the most amiable and magnanimous of the human species. Considering this publication highly dangerous to the peace and prosperity of

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the country, I took the liberty of remarking on its probable effects; which I find has brought down on me the wrath of the free negro phalanx; or, as friend Lundy calls them, "*the infant Herculeses, who are to overcome the lion of American despotism.*"

"Extravagant falsehoods!"—"Most amiable and magnanimous of the human species!"—"Free negro phalanx!"—Pretty well for a beginning.

He next gives us a specimen of his ingenuity at shuffling, and under a veil of gauze, presents us with something in the shape of a quirk. First, he makes me to say, hundreds have informed me that my work has not, in their opinion, a tendency to produce the evils which he predicted it would;—(I never before entertained an idea that an hundred persons viewed him in the light of a prophet!) And, secondly, he says I have "acknowledged that the friends of emancipation have attempted revolution, in places where cruelty is practised on the slaves."—A more wilfully false assertion than this, never escaped the lips of mortal man; and none but a wretch who is destitute of character, and completely void of shame, could have made it. A very idiot could not have drawn so false a conclusion from the premises. He *knows* that in my remarks on that point I alluded to the slaves only.

Passing on a little further, we come to a paragraph which I copy entire, as follows:—

"The friend asserts, that the advocates of slavery are afraid to attempt a justification of their system in the fields of scripture. I will grant him every thing he demands on that ground, for I am satisfied he can argue till doomsday, should he live so long, quote texts of scripture, and mould them for any cause. I am not so ingenious in holy writ; and believing with Shakspeare, that "the devil can quote scripture for his purpose," I am not inclined to enter the lists against such formidable odds. Besides, Mr. Lundy is wrong in insinuating that I am an *advocate for slavery*; but I must excuse him, for it is a cant term among the abettors of rebellion, which they very liberally bestow on all who think different from themselves in the most trivial point. I am as warm a friend to emancipation as he is, but I differ from him in the mode of obtaining that end."

There is some truth in the observation that "the devil can quote scripture to suit his purpose." I have, in several instances, seen it attempted by the advocates of slavery, and I wanted no clearer proof that "Satan sometimes transforms him-

self into an angel of light." But I cannot credit the assertion in the sequel of the paragraph. He a *friend to emancipation*!—not of the *negroes*, I presume—We shall see the "cloven foot" bye and bye.

This sage commentator next goes on to say, that they (the negroes) will never be fit to enjoy their liberty (*mark it*) until they "be *free and equal* in all things; they must be eligible to all offices, *civil, military and religious*; they must be considered *worthy* of our daughters and our sisters; they must be worthy to be our wives, and the partners of our fortunes."

Who can believe a word of this? There would be no necessity for going to such extremes in familiarity. Pray would we not have the *privilege of choosing*, if the negroes were free, the same as we have now among persons of our own color? But the distinction would create jealousy I suppose, and this must be the grand reason why the people of the slave states are so ready to cross the breeds! Can the gentleman tell us why we have so many mulattoes in the country? There certainly must be some who are not averse to associating with the blacks as bosom companions, occasionally; and would it be worse to do it in a lawful, than an illicit way? The advocates of slavery had best not touch that cord too often.

Speaking of the situation of *white slaves* in Algiers, he insists that "the case is by no means anathagous. White slaves in Algiers have social qualifications, which would render them valuable and useful to society, if they were at liberty."

This is no doubt in part true; they are treated so much better, even by the Turks, than our slaves are treated by us, that we ought to hide our heads from the scoffs of the world;—but it seems that our hearts are callous; like Pharaoh's they are hardened, and we glory in our shame!

The gentleman asserts that I have betrayed unpardonable ignorance in stating that we have derived our knowledge of the arts and sciences from the blacks. He advises me that "a little learning is a dangerous thing," &c. - Perhaps I may read him a lesson on this subject at a future time.—At present I will just observe, that he appears to be in no "danger" on that score, as respects the effect it has upon him.

With respect to the measures which he recommended to the people of this state to put me out of the way, he backs out in the following manner:

"He charges me with advising the people of Tennessee to put him and his press out

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of the way; but in such language as conveys an idea that I suggested to them to do so by violent measures. I had no such design; but I think it proper that they should discountenance the publication, as it tends to endanger their safety.

He requests me to desist from such language in future, as he "*does not wish to be frightened!*" It was never my wish or intention to frighten him; but as these words seem to convey a double meaning, I am at a loss in what sense to take them, whether as a threat or an entreaty. If they are intended for the first, I can assure him I am willing to give him any satisfaction which he may demand, in the defence of my assertions and opinions; and although I gave him to the world as a "*peaceful quaker*," I have no objection to find him a "*fighting quaker*."—[Shade of Bobadil!—interpose thy protecting arm.—How a man can talk when at a convenient distance, and under no apprehension of meeting with an enemy! If he cannot yet understand my meaning, I can assure him that he need give himself no uneasiness on that score, for I shall not.]—On the other hand, if he does not wish to be frightened, I promise him I will not in future trouble him; for it appears to me that he belongs to a faction, determined to accomplish their purpose, no matter what the consequence may be; who pursue their course with a malignant spirit against the peace of their country."—

And he says this party must be "crushed," or it will finally effect a revolution, &c. &c. There can be no doubt that he, as well as many others of the same kidney, would speedily "crush" every one that stand in the way of their ambition, if it were in their power. The arrogance of such audacious upstarts would lead them to the commission of any act, however base, however vile it might be, that would ultimately favor their views. Against the machinations of these infant Nero's, these Caligula's of the North American Republic, I consider it my duty to warn the people. We see them holding the rod of authority with an iron gripe, never slackening in the least degree, but continually encroaching upon the rights of others, as far as the means are within their reach. It is a duty incumbent on every citizen of this Union who enjoys the precious boon of freedom, to oppose the pretensions of such men; and they may rely upon it, that I must be completely "crushed" ere I shall cease to expose their unprincipled conduct, and hold up to public view their unhallowed designs against the peace and happiness of the human race.

As to the editor whose remarks I have thought proper thus to notice, I should not consider him worthy a moment's attention, were he not placed in the situation of a puppet, and operated upon by more skillful workers of the wires, who are concealed from our view. Never was a poor wretch more completely made a cat's paw to pick the chesnuts out of the fire, than he is. He cannot even call his soul his own, and dare not do otherwise than advocate the usurpations of as vile a knot of unprincipled creatures as the world can produce. I know many of them well. In speaking with them of the impropriety of oppressing their fellow creatures, I have frequently heard them use such terms as this—"I do not care a d—, if I can make money." It is no uncommon thing to hear such language from the mouths of men possessed of great wealth and influence. Knowing, therefore, as I do, that the fulminations against me in "*Thomas Foley's*" paper are nothing more nor less than the ebullitions of spleen dictated by the vituperative efforts of such men, I feel bound to notice them. I might pity the man who is driven along in the current, surrounded by such company, himself in danger of being "crushed" by them, unless he becomes a willing instrument to subserve their views; but he has chosen to personate them, and must abide by the consequence. I have no fellowship for tyrants or their abettors; the charities of my heart are lost as relates to them. I most cordially wish to see a whip in every honest hand,

"To lash the rascals naked thro' the world."

ORATION

Delivered at a Meeting of the Humane Protecting Society, held at Mount Moriah Meeting-House, on the 19th day of May, 1823.

BY THOMAS HOGE, JUN.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE SOCIETY.

Fellow Advocates of the Rights of Man—

The meeting of our society, and the presence of this audience, afford a favorable opportunity for an explanation of the motives of our association, and for dispelling the mists of prejudice which may have engendered in the minds of some, relative to the purity of its motives, or the justice of its proceedings. That those who attempt a reformation, where abuses have been long practised, should be opposed by ignorance, prejudice and depravity, is what may naturally be expected. Conscientious persons often array themselves in opposition to

truth, justice, and philanthropy, from the effect of a familiarity with vice, and suffering their zeal to over-reach their reason, & the spirit of inquiry. And it will be found to be generally the case, that when a formidable opposition to benevolence makes its appearance in civil society, its origin may be traced to early and deep-rooted prejudices in the human mind. Man is so much the creature of habit, that the most outrageous practices are often reconciled to his mind by being frequently viewed. In the language of the poet,

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
That to be hated only needs to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

Kidnapping has, by the laws of this country, been classed among the higher grade of crimes. Most of the civilized nations of the earth have raised their voices against it, and pronounced it a violation of the moral and divine precepts, annexing penalties thereto accordingly. Yet such is the prejudice existing on account of color, that those of the sable children of Africa in America, who have been liberated from the galling yoke of bondage, and restored to freedom, are constantly in danger of being reduced again to the degraded situation of object slavery, notwithstanding their liberty has been formally guaranteed to them by the laws. So alarming has been the progress of this detestable business, that the lonely, sequestered cottage of the black man, is the abode of continual alarms. Every leaf that is disturbed by the passing gale during the nocturnal hours intended by nature for repose, strikes terror to the tremulous soul of its inhabitant, and pictures to his imagination the distorted features of the man-stealer, keeping his "night watch" around the walls of the habitation, with insatiate thirst for blood, waiting for a favorable opportunity to put in practice his wicked designs. Then, all the terrors of a violent separation of husband and wife, of parents and children, with the repining condition of the wretched slave in a more southern clime, beneath the lash of a ruthless and barbarous task-master, rush into the imagination like successive shocks of electricity. Such is the condition of the free black man and his family, under the enormous abuses now so common in our country, that, so far from being permitted to live in quiet possession of the "unalienable rights of man," his hours of calmest, sweetest repose, are when the storm howls along the sky with tempestuous fury, when loud and incessant peals of

thunder "shake the cloudy space," when the merciless kidnapper is obliged to seek refuge from the peiting storm in some cavern, unable to perpetrate his deeds of infamy in consequence of the boisterous rage of contending elements.

When such scenes as these come under our view, when we contemplate the woe thus produced to a part of the family of mankind, to glat the voracious dispositions of hardened villains, well may we adopt the language of the venerable sage of Monticello:—"I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever." Will He, who punished the Egyptians for oppression and injustice, permit the Americans more abundantly to practise it with impunity? Shall the worshippers of Mammon roam through our country unmolested, in quest of human blood, and make merchandise of the bones and sinews of men whom the laws have pronounced free?

That such outrages have been frequently practised, even in our own neighborhood, none will attempt to deny. Yet, enrobed in the garb of familiarity, that witching, enchanting dress, which to the imagination almost transforms the demon into an angel of light, they are viewed by many thoughtless spectators with perfect indifference.—But these feelings of indifference and contempt for the sufferings of fellow mortals, serve but to pierce with more poignant stings the harrowed minds of the unfortunate victims; and call loudly on our sense of justice and humanity. Of little avail are the laws in securing their rights, without some guardian hand to enforce them.—The declarations and complaints of the injured are silenced by over-awing power, or borne unheeded on the pinions of the murmuring gale, answered but by the hollow echo reverberating through the vale, & mingling again with the grief-worn sufferer's solitary wailings. Then, where is the spirit of humanity? Where are those who solemnly call on the name of justice? Are there none who will dare to lend their aid in counteracting the mighty efforts of the "Demon of Despair?" "Is there no balm in Gilead—no physician there?" "Is there no good Samaritan in the land, to pour wine and oil into the wounds of him who "fell among thieves?"

In the Declaration of Independence, so justly celebrated for the accuracy of its premises, as breathing a spirit of liberality, and ably defining the "unalienable rights of man," we read that "all men are created

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equal." Yet, notwithstanding this sentiment is so generally received, notwithstanding the era of its promulgation as a public document is venerated as the most momentous day in the annals of the western continent, and its every returning anniversary hailed with the most joyous demonstrations, within the borders of our country, a million and a half of human beings remain in bondage. And though the further enslaving of the human race is forbidden by law, to our shame be it spoken; that before the eyes of a christian professing community, the rights of free people of color have been trampled upon with the most unblushing effrontery, by those whose source of wealth is a traffic in the sinews of men.—O tell it not in Britain, publish it not to the legitimates of Europe, that in the United States of America, so often denominated the "asylum for the oppressed of all nations," that those whose ebony skins proclaim them of the sun-burnt race, are hunted down like the wild game of their forests, and taken captive into servitude, lest the crowned heads rejoice, and republicanism should suffer.

To counteract the efforts of kidnappers, is the great object of the "Humane Protecting Society." As evidence of the propriety of such a procedure, we may hold up to view the examples of the philanthropic in all ages of the world. To heal the wounds of the afflicted, administer the balm of consolation to we-worn mortals, and "bind up Nature's broken law," are duties enjoined on all, and in performing them we but obey the dictates of reason and humanity.

Liberty is dear to every one, no matter what his complexion or hue. It is for liberty that our countrymen have braved the dangers of the field against fearful odds, in sanguinary warfare. And for liberty our relatives, our friends, and countrymen have sacrificed ease, affluence, and even life itself. Yes,

"Tis liberty alone that gives the flow'r
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume."

To a person who has once tasted its sweets, which he imagines secured to him by the laws of the country in which he lives, the loss of it is doubly painful. To be dragged from freedom to servitude, without the faintest gleam of hope of ever being released till by the friendly hand of death, is too much for human nature to support. The soul sickens at the thought, and sinks in dire despair. And if ought of virtue or feeling is in the soul of an American, let it here come forth, and advocate the cause of

the oppressed. Let not the sacred principles of freedom be stifled by unbounded ambition and unlawful power.

By what means does the kidnapper attempt to justify his conduct? By an appeal to our prejudices. Because the skin of the African is black, he is claimed as lawful prey, the laws of the land to the contrary notwithstanding. But, if prejudice and complexion are to be the criterions by which to judge a human being out of the orbit of our protection or friendship, and if we thus permit him to be enslaved, we ourselves may yet become slaves on the same principle. The trade now embraces those from jetty black to the faintest traces of African origin; and a few more strides of opinion and power may bring the fairest European to the same fate.

It behoves every well wisher of republicanism, every friend to the United States, to guard, with a watchful and suspicious eye, against the slightest infringement on the liberties of any portion of our citizens. Upon this depends the prosperity of a free government. And if injustice and barbarity are permitted to supplant every principle of "good will towards men," while we look on with heedless indifference, the nation must inevitably fall. The cries of the injured will call down the ire of Omnipotence, and the pillars of the republic will crumble, and yield to the mighty pressure. Are there Americans here? Are there Republicans and Philanthropists here? Are there Christians here? Let them solemnly and seriously "think of these things."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
THE MODERN LISTENER.

To his Correspondent. No. XII.

SIR—I here present you with the third part of the chain of my thoughts on slavery, and shall bring into view the third point, which, in my former number, I considered was necessary for the slave party to prove, before their position could be tenable; which was to show the analogy embraced in Noah's denunciation against Canaan, and the slavery practised and tolerated on our continent. In order to do this, they immediately recur to Leviticus, chap. 25, verses 44 and 46, where they think that they find vouchers to prove their right to buy slaves, founded on a special privilege granted to the Jews, in the then visible church of God, and to whom was committed his divine oracles, from whence a right knowledge of the living God, and of the relation man stands in to him, was derived.

The grant made to the Jews to buy men

servants, and maid servants, of the heathen round about them, was a merciful dispensation, as it respected the heathen who were liable to be sold as captives, for debt; or for some misdemeanor committed against the laws of their community; who, instead of being driven and sent off as Abraham did Hagar and Ishmael, were sold to some other tribe or nation. I repeat it, that this was a merciful dispensation for them to have an opportunity of getting amongst a people who were forbidden by their laws to *wear or oppress a stranger*, because they had themselves been strangers in Egypt.

It is true, that the 44th verse proves that the Jews, as a nation, had a grant, or permit, to buy men and maid servants from the heathen around them; but that is no proof, that we, as a nation, should usurp the prerogative of a people, with whom we claim no affinity, or blood connexion; and hence, I would call upon the slave party to produce *their* charter from heaven to buy men and women, no matter from whom, to make slaves of them;—or if they please, prove their descent from the Jews; and then, they will have a very slender hereditary claim of what I think has been for some hundreds of years abolished. But they bring in the 46th verse to prove perpetual slavery:—“They shall be your servants forever.” On this I would observe, that the word *forever*, is in some places in holy writ, to be taken in a limited sense, and is bounded by the thing alluded to—as in the case of the servant who shall so love his master and family, as to refuse to go out free in the seventh year, and suffers his ears to be bored thro’ with an awl to the post of the door, it is said that he shall be his master’s servant *forever*. Here the word is bounded by the life of the servant; but the word in the 46th verse, has no reference to the lives of the servants, but in the first instance, to the wise and merciful regulation with regard to servitude, founded in the 10th verse of the 25th chapter of Leviticus, where every fiftieth year, liberty was to be proclaimed throughout the whole land, and then all those servants were free—here the word *forever*, is bounded by the year of jubilee. But secondly, it is bounded, in my opinion, by the duration of the Jewish polity; this I gather from the marginal notes, that instead of reading “they shall be your bond men forever,” “Ye shall serve yourselves of them forever.” See notes, Carey’s Philadelphia printed Bible, 1816. From this I conclude, that the word *forever*, in the 46th verse, does not allude to the bondsman’s life, but

to the grant in the 44th, and its final termination with the Jewish polity. And of course, the Jews have no more right to buy bond men and women since the abrogation of their laws, and the cessation of their polity, than we have to buy *white* men of the inhabitants of another state; and hence, it appears clear to me, that their charter or grant has long since run out; and there being no proof that God ever gave any other nation such a grant, is it not mere quibbling and trifling, for men of sense to bring in the 25th chapter of Leviticus, to prove American bondage, or slavery? When was there a *year of jubilee* on our continent, when *liberty was proclaimed through the land*, as was the case every fiftieth year amongst the Jews!!!—in which year their servants were all free; and many, perhaps all of them, became proselytes to the Jewish religion, and worshipers of the God of Israel. Many, it is probable, of the servants set free at the jubilee, chose rather to continue in servitude in a decent orderly family, at a given and sure price; than to take their chance of a livelihood in any other way; and it is not unlikely to suppose, that in those days, a man might, in some cases, by selling himself for prompt pay, place the rest of his family in such circumstances, that in a short time they might contribute to the shortening his time, if not entirely free him. And even while he was a servant, he might own servants, like Ziba, who was a servant to Mephibosheth, and yet he had twenty servants; and ultimately, David made this servant, Ziba, a joint heir with Mephibosheth, to all the lands of Saul. Now, if one of our American slaves had belied and slandered his master, as Ziba did, he would, no doubt, be tied up by his hands to a tree; his feet tied together, and a fence rail or two put between them. To keep him well stretched, that the cow-skin whip might make the better impression; and then be sold to a *soul driver*, to be taken off, we know not where. And here I would remark, that though the Jews had a grant to buy servants, we have little or no account of their selling them again.

Now sir, as I can see no shadow of an argument to be advanced from the 25th of Leviticus, to prove, the smallest likeness or similitude between the situation of the *servants of the Jews* and our *American slaves*. I shall conclude this number with a promise, that in my next, the accomplishment of what is called “Noah’s curse” or prophecy, and examine whether there is any likeness between the servitude of the de-

Nil Justitia Nil Caelum.

scendants of Canaan, and that of our American slaves; and if there cannot in their case be found any, I hope that ere long, there will be a jubilee sounded throughout the land of America:—Then, and not till then, will *justice and equal rights*, be, in truth, the motto of our republic.

Farewell. I remain, yours, &c.

MODERN LISTENER.

Approved by a committee of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, 17th February, 1823.

STEPHEN BROOKS, Ch'm.

T. DOAN, Clk.

From the Abolition Intelligencer.

THE EDITOR'S VALEDICTORY.

The present number closes the first and last volume of the Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine. Having had abundant admonition from the fate of other publications, of different literary merit, in the west, the work was commenced by way of experiment, without any very sanguine hopes of permanent patronage.

Although the fostering hand of philanthropy has been extended for the support of an infant establishment, and the kindest solicitude manifested, in various parts of our country, for its prosperity, yet it is found necessary to bring it to a close. This however will not appear surprising when it is recollected that in addition to that apathy on literary subjects, which is, in a greater or less degree, characteristic of all new countries, we have had to contend with the most obstinate and inveterate prejudices of the human heart.

Open and undisguised hostility to the publication of our paper has been manifested—Torrents of calumny and abuse have been poured upon our character—Threats and proscriptions have been lavishly used by petty tyrants and by the sordid sons of avarice, whose indignant ire is aroused by every measure which seems likely in its most distant results to lead to the rescue of the victims of their oppression or to the drying up the sources of their unrighteous gain. Verily we esteem the reproach and persecution of such characters our highest praise.

It is not for us to say with what propriety we have discharged the duties of our office. Fidelity and forbearance were the principles upon which we commenced our work, and by which we have endeavoured to regulate our conduct. If in the estimation of the candid, if we have at any time lost

sight of first principles and indulged in the severe—the nature of our subject must be our apology. It is surely one on which it is hard for a man “to possess his soul in patience.” Even a philosopher, who was disposed to leave religion out of the question, has assured us that “it is impossible to be temperate and pursue this subject (slavery) through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history natural and civil.”

From our own experience, we would venture to say that no man can pursue it in all its relations and bearings on civil society, without feeling the conviction that it is the bane of social happiness—Nor can he, after having torn away the mask under which is concealed its deformity, view in the light of God’s revelation, its results without being satisfied that it is in its nature hostile to the spirit of the gospel, and in its operation destructive of every christian grace. In a word we may with propriety say of it, what the poet has said of sin in general.

It is a monster of so frightful mein,

That to be hated needs but to be seen.

This is evident from the fact that all men of all religious persuasion, and of all political creeds, with the exception of those who are either directly or indirectly interested, unhesitatingly and almost instinctively rise up in opposition to the principle and practice of slavery.

Hence it is unknown in Europe, unless it be indeed among the Turks; and even they emancipate the slave who embraces the doctrine of the holy prophet. While we who are disposed to view with emotions of pity and contempt, the baseless dispositions, and the legitimate tyrannies of the old world, are paradoxically holding in slavery the most abject and degrading TWO MILLIONS of our fellow creatures whom in the magna charter of our liberties, we declare to have been born free! And yet we are republicans, boasting a free constitution and claiming the land of LIBERTY as our natal soil—And yet we are christians, the disciples of him who has commanded “to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free!!” “O shame where is thy blush.”

It is with reluctance we relinquish our work, believing it to be equally the cause of justice, of humanity, and of religion. But we are happy to have it in our power to recommend to our readers, and we hesitate

“Jefferson:

Piat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

not to do it in the highest terms, the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," a monthly magazine, published in Greeneville E. Tennessee, by Benjamin Lundy.

This work possesses much literary merit, and is favored with an extensive patronage. The price is one dollar, in the currency of the state in which the subscriber lives, per annum, always to be paid in advance. We sincerely hope that the friends to humanity and equal rights in the western country will, if practicable, avail themselves of the advantages of this paper; and when they have read it, lend it to their neighbors.

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

The following was lately composed on seeing two ill looking fellows pass through a village in this county with each an infant slave on his horse before him. From some circumstances that occurred, it is pretty evident they must have been stolen.

O ye Gods of mercy! who could view the sight

Without compassion rising in the breast,
A sight for Demons fit, whose chief delight
It is to see sweet innocence oppress.

Ah! where has justice, where has mercy fled;

Those heav'nly blessings sent to fallen man;

Where, ye bright powers, do your footsteps tread?

Or wherefore thus is disannulled your plan?

What Fiend of hell has hurried you away,
With deeds of darkness shocking to behold,

While injustice, oppression, fearless stray,
With callous heart grown insolent and bold,

'Tis vain we look around for your fair form,

In vain we listen for your heavenly voice;

For still injustice reigns with dread alarm,
And tyrants still exultingly rejoice.

Oh God of Heaven! when wilt thou arise,
And lay the impious proud oppressor low,

Behold those children of despair, whose cries

Still pierce thine ear, whose tears unceasing flow.

My very blood doth chill me to the heart,
My very soul doth sicken at the sight;
To think that man would make a soul his mart,

And sever kindred bonds for his delight.
Those piercing cries that rend a mother's breast,

Those shrieks of anguish that distract her soul,

For children lost, are still with grief oppressed,

While tears in torrents from her eyes do roll.

Oh! save my children, save me from despair,

She cries,—with arms and eyes to heaven upraised,

Oh! yet a little longer let me share,
Those smiles of innocence I oft had praised.

Still would I wish to nurse them in my arms,

Until their infant days of life are past;
Their youthful feet, from life's impending storms,

I would preserve while infancy doth last.
Oh! tis a mother shrieks, a mother pleads,

For those her offspring dearest to her heart;
It is for these my wretched bosom bleeds,

To think that we forevermore must part:
Distracting thought,—and Oh! distracting sight,

To see my babes thus severed from my breast;

(Concluded in next Number.)

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation

WHAT'S HONESTY?

'Tis not to read the Moral law,

The rules by men pourtray'd,

To say my conduct has no flaw

When all my debts are paid.

'Tis not to know the law Divine,

Which is indeed most pure,

And say my worthy acts do shine,

For Heaven to me is sure.

But 'Tis to let the oppress'd go free,

Be faithful just and kind—

To do as should be done to me,

In body and in mind.

H.

Owing to the length of the Oration inserted in this Number, several original communications as well as other articles in type, are crowded out.—Room will be made for some of them in the next publication. And we are very reluctantly compelled to divide the poetry relating to the infants who are supposed to have been stolen.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 14. VOL. II.

SIXTH MONTH, 5, 1823.

WHOLE No. 26

☞ The reader will pay particular attention to the proceedings of the British Parliament as noticed in this paper. I shall have something to say, on the subject, hereafter.

Several editorial articles are crowded out at this time; and the favours of a number of valuable correspondents are also laid over. They shall not be neglected, however, when I may have room for them.

The increasing attention to the subject of slavery in the United States, is such that I could most ardently wish for more room, and, also, a more lively circulation of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. It is morally impossible to embrace, within so small a compass, half the interesting matter that I am anxious to present to the public through the medium of its columns. From the favorable reception it has already met with, I hope the time is not very distant when it may be published *weekly* in its present form. But it is doubtful whether such a step would not, as yet, be premature; and the change will not be made until I may be well assured that it will be likely to succeed.

EMANCIPATION.

It is stated by some of our best informed men, that a great deal more has been done of late, and is now doing towards the emancipation of slaves in this section of country, than has ever been accomplished at any former period. So much for the activity and energy of the members of our benevolent societies. The fell spirit of petty despotism must shrink before the majesty of eternal justice. Pride, hypocrisy, error and delusion cannot withstand the potent arm of truth. Liberty is a privilege of celestial origin; and nothing can prevent its having a proper influence on the minds and actions of men, if its advocates use their endeavours to spread a knowledge of its principles.

A few months since, a man of the name of Vanvacten died in this place, who was possessed of a negro woman and several children, as well as grand children. He had also some lands and other property,

that was considered valuable. He was very infirm for several years before his death, and his children left him in the care of his woman slave, paying but little attention to him themselves. Some length of time before his death the old man bequeathed the inestimable jewel of freedom to his negro woman, and all her children, and grand children, and also the whole of his estate, with the exception of a small portion sufficient to debar his other heirs from the means of breaking his will. In this case strict justice was meted out to all the parties, and doubtless the old man left the world in peace.

Within a few weeks a certain Jesse Davies Esq. of this county, also died, after having willed his slaves to the number of nine, free at a certain age, appointing very judicious men to prepare and qualify them for freedom, and to execute his will according to his desire.

Another aged gentleman in this county, who holds a considerable number of slaves, has expressed his intention of liberating them, before he dies, saying that *he cannot die happy unless he does so*. It is sincerely to be hoped that he may not put it off too long, as life is very uncertain, and in case he should neglect to attend to this important matter until sickness overtakes him, he may not have it in his power to make his will so that it will be viewed as valid, in the eye of the law. In this case, perhaps, the uncertainty would be a source of anxiety and trouble, and it is doubtful whether, in such a situation he could "die happy."

The circumstances here alluded to, tend to shew the increasing disposition in this part of the country to alleviate the woes of human bondage, and to render justice to those who are still groaning under the weight of its cruel chains. It will be gratifying to the friends of universal liberty at a distance, and indeed in every quarter, to learn that we not only maintain our ground, but that our prospects are growing brighter and brighter; and that we are daily increasing in strength. There is a redeeming spirit in the people of this country:—when they fairly view the evils which follow in the train of slavery; when they con-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

sider that the liberties of their own posterity are in danger; when they see that it is at variance with every principle and rule of right, and totally irreconcilable with the attributes of Deity, and the whole tenor of the Christian religion; they must, they will, rise in the majesty of their strength and expel the furious monster from the soil that has been declared sacred to liberty. This is the idea I have of the free and independent people of Tennessee, and the adjacent States.

A RELISH FOR GENTLEMEN OF WEAK STOMACHS.

Respectfully submitted to the consideration of "THOMAS FOLEY," and his brethren of principle, in Missouri and Illinois.

Much has been said, of late, by the enemies of African emancipation, about an equalization of social intercourse, and an unlimited familiarity with people of color; and so zealously are the generality of white people in America opposed to this, in the *day time*, one would imagine that the moral corroding-mantle of night could never affect the spotless and unsullied character assumed by them. Were it not for the thousands, and tens of thousands of living monuments of the hypocrisy and incontinency of the present generation, we might give our countrymen great credit for their virtuous professions, and their *pious* protestations against the amalgamation of different *casts*, and the "mixing" of American and African blood.—But "facts speak louder than words;" they are, indeed, extremely vociferous, and no sophistry, however well it may be woven, can possibly gain-say them.

A certain sage expounder of the *mongrel* law, in Missouri, whose stomach, if we may judge from his language, would heave at the verge sight of a female negro, lately played off a few witticisms relative to the subject before us; and to help him along with his sport, a narration of the following circumstances, which are positively true, in every particular, will no doubt be of singular service.

There resided, a few years since, at a town in upper Louisiana, a wealthy bachelor who held several female slaves, by each of whom, as it was currently reported, he had one or more children.

For the purpose of ridiculing the friends of emancipation, he predicted that *the time would come* when "the white man and 'he negro could lie down together, & therewould be but one colour" in the land.—He was

answered, that the time had *already* come; when the white man and negro *had* lain down together, &c. It was therefore admitted that he would have been entitled to the appellation of a prophet, had he not prophesied *after* the event. He, indeed, "bare record;—and *he knew* that his record was true!"

As one of those soul tormentors, and pests of the human race, a United States' slave trader, was on his way to the territory of Negroland, in lower Louisiana, (a considerable distance below St. Genevieve) he stopped on the way, to replenish his republican pocket, by the sale of a fellow-creature or two.—He had taken a few young women along, who were nearly as white as himself, and, perhaps, far superior in every other respect. He had scarcely made fast his *democratic* bastille to the equally consistent democratic shore, when a razor faced meagre looking, little Louisiana creole skipped on board, accosting him—with, "Vat vill you take for dat fine yellow gal?—Me want her for me wife."—The dealer in souls and bodies soon disposed of a human being, and received his wages of iniquity. On his return, homeward, he stopped again at the same place, and was "*very politely*" invited, by the *Lady of the house*, (who had so recently been treated by him as an article of traffic) into the parlour, and "treated" with a glass of wine!—A friend of mine, after a visit to that part of the country, was heard to say that the introduction of the negro race into Louisiana, was evidently the means of "improving the breed," as well as increasing the *amount*, of population! If this be the case, and if the sentiments of those *tasty gentlemen*, to whom I have alluded in the beginning of this article, do not become too prevalent, who knows but the American Republican "Slave trade" to that State, may yet prove a real benefit!!

It is stated, upon pretty good authority, that a true Blue Light yankee, who was extremely opposed to the election of a southern candidate for a high office a few years ago, journeyed several hundred miles towards the south for the express purpose of ascertaining whether one of them was guilty of certain charges that had been preferred against him, among which was that of keeping a coloured mistress. He went so far as to satisfy himself that this was the fact; but on his return he advised his partizans to say nothing about it, as he said it was "*SUCH A COMMON THING*" among gentlemen there," that their own party would suffer as much by the exposure

as the other!—"Thomas Foley" will perhaps, admit that this man's change of opinion was the natural effect of a change of climate; and that the rays of the sun, as we approach the equinoctial line, have a considerable degree of influence upon the "stomach;"—and, "perhaps," candour will yet compel him to acknowledge, that the same effects are produced, *by some means or other*, in certain places above "the line of 36 degrees and 30 minutes north, latitude."

Is this enough; or would the advocates of slavery wish to hear a little more about the matter?—Perhaps their delicate "stomachs" will not digest a great deal now, and I will let them off, with observing, that they act a very ungenerous part towards themselves and their posterity; first, by ridiculing their known practice of "crossing the breeds," of which many of them appear to be extremely fond; and secondly, by frequently selling their own offspring into bondage! This is done in hundreds of instances, and yet the shameless barefaced creatures have the audacious impudence to speak of the evil effects of such scandalous conduct! Many of them are ipso facto the most disgraceful whoremongers upon earth; they make a *business* of raising bastards and selling them for money;—they keep poor miserable degraded females for this identical purpose; they *compel* them to submit to their abominable, *avaricious*, and brutal lusts; they oppose the work of emancipation *on this ground*; and with "*auri sacra fames*," the accursed thirst for gold, they glory in their shame!!!

Do I make use of strong language, gentlemen?—Really your case demands it.—You have scandalized the nation long enough. You are continually bawling about "liberty," "equality," and "justice," while you are riveting the fetters of eternal slavery on others who are as fairly entitled to their freedom as yourselves; and like the veriest strumpets in existence, you profess a veneration for chastity and the principles of morality, while you violate both whenever you have the opportunity. These remarks are not intended for, nor can they possibly apply to, any but such as know themselves guilty of the base conduct to which they allude; and all such will please consider that, *much more might be said upon the subject*.

A letter from an American gentleman in Cuba, to his friend in the United States, gives the following information:

"Here every proprietor is obliged to register his slave, cost, description, &c. The

books are accessible. The slave, from habits of industry and fidelity to his master, is allowed perquisites, (a custom of long standing) in a few years he tenders to his master the amount of his *cost*; with the addition of five per cent. interest, *and he is free*. If he be a father, his children are (by law) appraised, and they share his liberty. The slave trade terminated by law, in the Spanish colonies, in the year 1821."

HUMANE PROTECTING SOCIETY.

The attention of the public is invited to the Oration delivered before this Association on the 19th ult. There can be no doubt that when the principles upon which it is established, and the object it has in view, are more extensively known, they will be generally approved. It is with pleasure we state, that a number of the citizens of this place, who are not members, have contributed to the funds of the Society to aid in effecting the benevolent purpose for which it was formed.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation TO THE EDITOR.

As I am often listening I sometimes hear such news as makes my heart ache with sorrow. I have lately heard that in the County of Washington and State of Tennessee, there lives a certain J. D. a member of the Baptist society, who is a slave holder and a distiller of spirituous liquors. He would wish people to believe that he is a Christian, and a Republican; but how much he possesses of either, I will leave my readers to judge. A few days ago, says my informant, the said J. D. sold to H. B. of said county, four people of colour,—an old gray-headed woman, called Jin, her daughter, and two grandchildren. The old woman had lived with him for nearly twenty years, and had been a faithful servant in helping to raise his family. His wife dying when his children were small, she became as a mother to them, who, no doubt felt almost, if not altogether as near to her as her own children; but without any regard to all this, now when she is almost past labor, and her head blossoming for the grave, this petty tyrant, for fear that she might die upon his hands, sold her to procure land for his children; and that too, to one that he knows must of necessity part with them shortly, and no matter to whom, so that he gets his price for them. But now comes on the time of trouble and anguish. Their new master arrives with a waggon, to carry them and their little trumpery out of their cabin.

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

At this they began to cry and to weep so bitterly as to be heard near a quarter of a mile.—Their masters growing somewhat tired of this bring them whiskey, and thro' their solicitations they take one draught after another until they become intoxicated. Look reader at the tender mercies of the wicked! are they not cruel? Now they appear to be nearly ready for a start; but one of the grand-children, a little mulatto, is not yet in the waggon. The mother endeavors to put it in, but it shrieking out and striving against her, she let it go; then up steps a monster in human shape and siezes the little victim, while it was crying out that it was not sold; yet he, like a staunch murderer, regarded it not, but hoisted it into the waggon, and so they were borne off.

Now reader, where is the christianity observable here, that breathes Peace on earth, and good will to men? It is said that the Devil is good to his own; but truly it is not so with many petty tyrants called slave holders, for some of them sell their own children. Is this "doing to others as we would they should do unto us?" Is it "loving our neighbours as ourselves?" Is this the way to "do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God;—or is it "undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free?" Answer me ye iron hearted creatures who call yourselves christians and Republicans; is not the declaration of republican principles this;—that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; and among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?"

A FRIEND TO MANKIND.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

TO THE EDITOR.

Looking over the 6th No. of the 2d vol. of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, I observed an extract of a letter from a gentleman in South Carolina, stating that the spirit of emancipation, similar to that in East Tennessee, was breaking forth amongst them. This was a matter of consolation to me, as I am a well wisher to that state; and indeed it is my favourite country, as I have long breathed its air and trod its flowery plains; and also have long dreaded the bursting forth of a more dreadful storm than that recently experienced in the city of Charleston, and its vicinity, which may yet shake this once happy state to its centre, if something is not done in time to prevent the rapid increase

of the black population, which at present is so truly alarming.

I have understood that the legislature of that state has passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves from any quarter. This is very well; but we know that while slavery is tolerated in any section of country, avarice will induce many to smuggle them in, contrary to law, which will consequently be found to be poorly calculated to check the increase of this kind of population. Unhappily for that State, the very seeds of desolation are sown in its constitution. Such and such of its public characters must possess slaves; this made slavery popular; and as the mind of man is ever looking up to preferment, an emulation was created among the citizens for the purpose of increasing their number of slaves, until the demon of oppression has completely spread his mantle over that otherwise brave and patriotic people.

In answer to the grand question proposed by the Southern gentlemen, "What shall we do with our slaves?" I would say let justice be done to them, consistently with good policy. In the first place, let their condition be improved; let them be treated well, and this will quiet their minds, and they will serve their masters with fidelity. It is evident that the policy is not good which places them in a situation where they will not bear to be well used. Secondly, let a door be opened for a gradual emancipation; that is to say, let a law be passed, declaring that all born after the passage thereof shall be free at a certain age; and those having the care of them be enjoined to give them sufficient learning to prepare them for freedom, and to make them capable of self government. I do not consider that it would be sound policy to encourage an immediate emancipation, as many of the blacks would, in their degraded state, be incapable of supporting themselves, for a time, by their own industry. But by first qualifying them for a state of freedom, all reasonable objections to their liberation would be obviated. Even if their present masters could not be induced to yield obedience to the dictates of justice, so as to be willing to free them in their lifetime, a new generation would soon arise, devoid of many of the prejudices prevailing at this day, and the work thus gradually effected, would produce no derangement in public or private affairs.

Another great objection to emancipation, is the supposition of some that in case the blacks were free amongst the whites, they

Qui Justitiam Ruit Cœlum.

would intermarry &c.—but if some of the whites should so far lay aside their pride, it would be no more of an offence against Heaven, than to pursue the present plan of bastardizing and exiling their own offspring. But it has been found by experience, that the mixture is not near so common in the free, as in the slave states: and if it should be found to be a burthen to the whites to keep the blacks in the country, we might so far confide in the wisdom of our general government as to remove the evil by colonization. Should Congress lay off a district of country large enough for the purpose, put it under a territorial government, and invite *all those who are born free* to settle it on favorable terms, and when they might increase in power and experience admit them as an independent state of this Union, I have no doubt it would become a useful and important branch of the government. But if our prejudice will not permit us to go so far as this in performing an act of justice, I would say we should apply to our neighbors of Mexico, or Hayti, for a place to colonize them. Here, the query will, however, naturally arise, would it be good policy in us to drain the nation of one million and an half of its useful inhabitants?

The Colonization Society established at Washington, may confer a blessing on millions yet unborn, by colonizing in Africa; but it cannot be expected that it can, by this means, effect any thing very important in the way of emancipating those among us; for to draw the main part of the black population from our own shores to the coast of Africa, would be impossible. So we must look out in time to do them justice in some other way, or they will no doubt colonize themselves, and even much to the injury of the whites; for history does not furnish an instance of a nation being always held in bondage.

I observed a statement in a late paper shewing that the Legislature of South Carolina was about passing a law, subjecting every free coloured male to a tax of fifty dollars, that had been in that state but five years previous to the passage of said law. This I believe to be a measure entirely at variance with the Constitution of their own State; but it contains a more grievous provision still.—In case he cannot pay the stipulated sum, he may be sold as a slave for five years, thus allowing him but ten dollars a year for his labour!—and even then, the probability is that he may be sold as a slave for life, by those into whose hands he may fall. Is this the kind of po-

licy the people of that state are determined to pursue, until their fertile plains are soaked with blood, and the land swept with the besom of destruction?—Why indeed do they not add the Egyptian plan of destroying the male children? But Heaven forbids that this should be done.

A. C.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Not long since in a leisure hour, I was contemplating on the many blessings and privileges we enjoy as a people; and viewing in prospective the surrounding nations, and seeing some groaning under the galling yoke of oppression; some starving to death for want of bread to eat; some striving who will be the greatest, even to the shedding of blood, and the loss of thousands of lives; whilst others appear to be totally shut up in pagan darkness, and excluded from the light of revelation; falling down to stocks and stones, and worshipping they know not what, gods made with their own hands, which cannot save them in time of trouble—considering the woful consequences of this, my heart was filled with gratitude to the author of all good, for his favors bestowed on us in a greater degree than some of the surrounding nations.

But whilst my heart was raised and set on high, the sound of sorrow seemed to strike my ear.—I turned myself about, and heard a small still voice saying, while you are enjoying all the blessings and luxuries that this happy land can afford, there are now at the lowest calculation, at least, one million, four hundred and ninety one thousand, three hundred and sixty four of the human family who are by you, reduced to the lowest state of human wretchedness and degradation. I say, who are by you deprived of every blessing which renders the life of man happy. They are deprived of the liberty of their will; they are prevented from acquiring and possessing property of their own; which is one of the unalienable rights of mankind. Many of them are not only denied the privilege of worshipping the divine Being agreeable to the dictates of their own conscience, but in many instances, they are prohibited from worshipping God at all, unless they do so by stealth, and that at a time, when their languid frames require rest!

While pondering these things in my mind, surely said I to myself, "Darkness has covered the earth, and gross darkness the people!" A query appeared naturally to present itself to my view—who are these among us, that exercise such authority

such domination, and lordship over their fellow mortals? Are they pagans, mahometans, or christians?—they are generally speaking, men professing christianity; who profess to have the fear of God before their eyes, and the good of the commonwealth at heart. Now does this look like consistency?—I have always considered it to be one of the leading traits of the christian character, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, administer to the wants of the needy, and “undo the heavy burdens, brake every yoke, and let the oppressed go free.” If this then, is a trait of the christian character, surely these must be mistaken men, for “they bind heavy burdens on mens shoulders, which they themselves are not willing to move with one of their fingers.”

I cannot hesitate in saying, that such christians are living in open violation of the moral law; for slavery, take it in what form you may, is a flagrant departure from the steps of the redeemer, and his primitive followers. It is an open disgrace to christianity, republicanism, and humanity; sitting to be practised by none but “unjust judges, who neither fear God, nor regard man.”

Dr. Smith observes “that all pretences to justify slavery, is impudent hypocrisy.” Another eminent author says, that in addressing a professing slave holder, the language ought to be something like this: “O fall of all subtlety, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?” As individuals, we are accountable to God for all our conduct, but alas! what sort of an account shall men render to God, who have taken upon themselves to be masters and controllers of the wills and actions, of their fellow mortals!—a prerogative this, which belongeth to God above. Such conduct is insulting, to the supreme. Being, disgraceful to the church, and injurious to the commonwealth at large. Ere long eternity will open to their incredulous eyes;—there both slave and master will then be placed on an equal footing! He that said, “do unto all men, as you would they should do unto you,” will administer impartial justice to both slave and master; and he that hath feared God, and worked righteousness, will rise to the resurrection of the just; but he that has acted from selfish motives, and has not had the glory of God, nor the good of his fellow men in view—in short he who has done evil, shall rise to the resurrection of the unjust, and will be driven from the presence of God,

and from the glory of his power, into irretrievable woe!

It is written, “masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye yourselves have a master in heaven;—and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again; neither is there respect of persons with him.” Then if we admit that God is not a respecter of persons, but will, in justice cut the sinner down, and deal with every man according as his works have been in this world, how terrible will it be in the great day of accounts for those who live on the gain of oppression!

(Conclusion in next number.)

BRITISH PARLIAMENT, 1823.

Remarks of Wm. Wilberforce on presenting the Petition of the Society of Friends, praying for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The petition, Mr. W. said, was couched in the language of moderation and seriousness, which was likely to be adopted for the expression of the sentiments of such a body of men. They asserted that it was the duty of parliament to put an end to slavery in the British dominions, and to restore those unhappy persons who were suffering under its yoke, to the moral dignity of the enjoyment of liberty. There was this to be said with respect to slavery in the East, namely, that there it had, from time immemorial, built for itself a nest—there it had fenced itself round with mounds and ramparts, and had almost become a part of individual existence; but as attack had commenced on that strong hold of evil; its out-works had been demolished; its territories invaded; and the cause of truth and liberty was advancing. Some circumstances had transpired with respect to one of the colonies, Jamaica, which made it doubtful whether an illicit introduction of slaves had not been carried on to a certain extent; but still he had reason to think that it was by no means general. However, it was universally admitted, that it was impossible wholly to prevent the illicit introduction, if the parties interested, were so inclined; but it was hoped that the conscience and convictions of the colonists would induce them to adopt physical and moral reforms in the condition of the slaves, when it was found that the means of adding to their number by importation, were nearly cut off; that they (the colonists) by introducing the institution of marriage—by religious instruction—

Plat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

and by lessening the quantity of labor, would raise the slaves higher in the scale of human society, render them more useful to the islands, and make their individual situations more consistent with the rank to which, as human beings, they were entitled. It was hoped that the consciousness of not being able to procure a ready supply by importation, would be an urgent reason for bettering the condition of those which remained. He hoped those interests might meet with due consideration, but he also hoped that we should not be called upon to pay any British debts out of African pockets.

All he asked was a fair and mature consideration of the subject—that the claim of 700,000 men to be treated as human beings, might not be overlooked: that it might be remembered they were men capable of great mental improvement and being bro't to a high degree of civilization. It would be weakening and degrading his argument, if he confined the improvement of their condition merely to food and clothing. He looked to higher objects—their mental improvement, and raising them in the scale of human beings.

He was anxious that they should be treated upon a different principle—that the whip should not be looked upon as the necessary stimulant to work. He recollected 30 or 40 years ago, he was advocating the measure, an honorable friend said to him—“The measure is well to discuss, but surely you can never hope to carry it.” He (Mr. Wilberforce) answered—“I do hope; for such a cause as this is sure to carry itself at last.” (Hear, hear.) He would say the same now. He stood upon principles, which, however tardily, would at length make their way with the people of England. (Hear, hear.) In presenting this petition, he considered that the first stone was laid of an edifice which would flourish at some future period, an ornament to the land.—The honorable member concluded by moving that the petition be brought up.

The petition was now brought up and read.

After eulogising the perseverance with which the legislature had followed up the measure of abolition of the trade, it went on to point out the evils to which hundreds of thousands of our fellow beings were still exposed by a continuance of their bondage in the British colonies, concluded by imploring parliament to adopt the most efficacious measures for redeeming them from their present degraded situation.

The petition was ordered to be printed.

Mr.—asked whether it was the intention of the hon. member to found any motion on the petition.

Mr. Wilberforce said that it was not, but that such was the intention of an honorable friend of his.

Mr. F. Buxton then gave notice, that on the 22d of April, he would submit a motion to take into consideration the state of slavery in the British colonies.

TRAFFIC IN SLAVES.

Freetown, (Africa) August 2nd.

It is with singular satisfaction we have again to bear to testimony to the successful zeal of Lt. Hagan, in the cause of Africa and of suffering humanity. On the 19th ult. this distinguished officer brought into harbor a large Portuguese brig with 300 slaves on board; she proves to be the *Estrela*, Santos, master, cleared out at Bahia for Malembo, and furnished with a royal passport to take stores from that place; she was however seized in the Bight of Benir, nine days from Lagos, where her cargo of human flesh was shipped. The *Estrela* had been previously boarded by the *Thistle*, off Cape Coast Castle, at which time the master professed himself to be bound to Elmina, for a supply of water, provisions, &c. to enable him to proceed on his voyage: but it now appears that the only thing he procured was canoes, which, we lament to state, are there furnished to every slave vessel without the least reserve.

In the river Calabar, Lt. H. detained another Portuguese vessel, the schooner *San Joseph Hallaxa*, with 20 slaves. This vessel was found on examination to be in so leaky a state, that she could not be brought to this port; she was therefore destroyed, the slaves being first removed on board the *Thistle*.

A FEMALE FIEND.

Donna Maria do Cruz, the daughter of the notorious Gomez, of Prince's Island, is the sole owner of the *San Joseph Hallaxa*. The schooner *Conceicao*, condemned in the Mixed Court some time since, was also the property of the same lady, who it would seem bids fair to rival her father in slave dealing notoriety. Gomez was formerly governor of Prince's Island, and at present holds a high station among the honorable council of his most faithful majesty in that island.

The British cruizers have generally been very successful in their capture of slave traders, many of them having fallen into their hands. The principal traffickers in this disgraceful trade are the Portuguese

Huic Jussit Huic Culum.

and the Power; and to hear and see the sufferings of some of their unfortunate victims, is truly heart-rending.

Christian Slavery.—The following is an extract of a letter from Tunis, dated Oct. 24:—"On the 17th inst. arrived here the Sardinian brig *Greacen*, capt. Antonia Lanza Nialo, from Smyrna, in 20 days, with soldiers; also the Maltese brig *Due Cugini*, Capt. Chiassuro, from Constantinople and Smyrna—from the latter place in 20 days, with silk manufactures, &c. Both these vessels bring a number of unfortunate Greek slaves! principally young girls, destined as presents to the Bardo, and boys, all under 10 years of age, who have been circumcised. What appears most extraordinary is, that this nefarious traffic in Christian blood is not only carried on under the flags of the Holy Alliance, but the two vessels in question were actually escorted from Smyrna to Cape Passar by an Austrian ship of war.

MUSE'S BOWER.

*Americans, plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free;
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind.
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE STOLEN INFANTS.

(Concluded.)

To see them torn 'midst cries and wild af-
fright,

From parent dear, so oft with joy caress'd
Eternal God of justice, hear my cries,

O save my children from deceitful man,
Whose heart compassion, every tie, de-
fies,

Who never thinks his ways thou yet
wilt scan.

In vain her shrieks re-echo'd thro' the air;
In vain her cries were heard both far and
near;

Her children seized, they left her to de-
spair,

A child of sorrow ever to appear.

They're gone forever from her last em-
brace;

Borne far away from her distracted view;
The last maternal kiss has press'd each
face,

Amidst those sighs that whispered her
adieu.

Ah! now who'll guide your infant steps a-
right,

Who now will listen to your youthful cry?

No more to see those smiles of pure delight,
That beamed with joy from a fond mo-
ther's eye.

Borne far away by those who cannot feel,
To where oppression's bands will be
your lot;

Where unto mercy's voice there's no appeal,
Where tyrants reign—afflicted & forgot.
What bursts of grief will press your youth-
ful breasts;

What days of anguish time disclose
to view;

What tears of sorrow while the body rests,
Will flow spontaneous mingling with the
dew.

Sweet innocents! what sorrow rends my
heart,

To think of you, 'mid future scenes of life,
The tear drop from a mother's eye doth
start,

To think for you there can be no relief.
But mercy's soothing voice will yet arise,
The voice of justice too will yet be
heard;

When freedom's glorious sound will rend
the skies,

More glorious still than ever yet appear-
ed.

Then let despair come not upon the mind,
For Oh! 'tis written that our God is just:
He 'tis that can oppression's chains unbind,
And hurl oppression's vot'ries to the dust.

"ALONZO."

Sullivan Co. Tenn. April 8th, 1823.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
THE HEATHEN.

The Christian world for Heathens groan,
That live in regions half unknown,

Involved in Pagan night,
Their money liberally they spend,
The missionaries there to send,

To spread the Gospel light,
But strange as it may be to tell,

The fact can be attested well,
Their pity's too confin'd;

To heathens that we have at home,
They will not suffer light to come,

But strive to keep them blind.

COLUMBIAN BARD.

GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

PUBLISHED EVERY OTHER WEEK.

TERMS.—One dollar per annum, in ad-
vance, or one dollar and fifty cents, before
the expiration of the year, for single sub-
scriptions—Ten dollars per dozen copies,
for companies.

Complete files may be had from the
beginning.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 15. Vol. II.

SIXTH MONTH, 19, 1823.

WHOLE No. 27.

EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES, IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Arouse ye, My Countrymen!—Awake from your slumbers! Our Republic is losing its glory, and our Patriots their Laurels, for Monarchists are outstripping us in the grand, the benevolent, and the holy work of Abolishing personal Slavery!!!

In the last Number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, an extract from the proceedings of the British Parliament was inserted, from which it appears that William Wilberforce, the great champion of African freedom, has again come forth in the character of a leading advocate of the rights and immunities of those oppressed and degraded people, the slaves in the British colonies. The reader is requested to turn to page 174, and examine that article, if he has not already given it an attentive perusal. It may be safely said that, in this instance, the most correct and important step has been taken that ever was attempted, relative to that subject, by the English government. It is, ipso facto, striking directly at the root of the great evil, whereas the measures hitherto adopted by them, having in view the abolition of the slave trade, was merely, in effect, but lopping the branches, which their experience has proven to be an endless and interminable work. It is a strange thing indeed, that British and American Statesmen have not long since discovered that a force destined to execute the laws in any country, should be stationed in that country.—Had they respectively passed laws for the gradual abolition of slavery in their own dominions, instead of sending their cruisers to the coast of Africa, the horrid system of man stealing & man dealing would at this time perhaps have been nearly annihilated, whereas it appears to be now in almost, if not quite, as flourishing a state as ever. But there has, doubtless, been more of policy manifested in the measures adopted by both nations, than some are aware of. I am willing to give them all the credit for their good intentions that they really deserve; but on a careful review of the course pursued, it is impossible to disguise the fact that *philanthropy* made a small part of the estimates of some of their

cabinet members. Great-Britain has a large Navy to support; and in time of peace in Europe and America, it is very convenient to employ their vessels in scouring the coasts of Africa. They may be immediately withdrawn (as has been the case) on the breaking out of war in any other quarter, and returned again at a convenient time. Thus the purposes of their ambition are completely subserved; that tremendous engine of national power and domination is kept in motion; and the vast supremacy that they have assumed is supported, which could not be done if their ships of war were suffered to decay for want of use. They wished to hold out the specious show of benevolence, that their measures might be generally approved; and this was a fatal snare, into which many were drawn, who had espoused the cause of the descendants of Africa. Although cupidity was seen to counteract their efforts to meliorate the condition of the negroes in bondage; and notwithstanding every year's experience has sufficiently proven the inefficacy of their measures, they persisted with an apparent zeal worthy of the best of causes; and the syren song of hope lulled the spirit of reformation to repose. The same disposition, or some thing very similar to it, has had its share of influence in our own country, to a certain degree. The advocates of slavery find it very convenient to declaim against the slave trade, thinking thereby to inculcate the belief that they are actuated by the purest motives of justice, and benevolence. Knowing the system of slavery to be completely at variance with the principles, of republicanism, but determined still to profit by it if possible, they found it necessary to hold up something to shield them from the indignation and scorn of the world. But the spell is broken; the magic charm is dissolved; the mystic veil is rent in twain; and the effulgent beams of pure benevolence is unfolding to the view of Statesmen and Philanthropists the error and delusion of the age. A more rational system of operations will henceforth be adopted by the British government to annihilate the African Slave Trade.—The Ball of reformation is now moving in a proper

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

direction. It is put in motion by a skilful hand, and nothing can arrest its progress—nothing can ever impede its march. The miserable degraded slaves of the British West India Islands will soon be placed in a situation to obtain their freedom.—And the regulations in the Spanish colonies being so favourable to the attainment of the same object, the next generation will probably witness the complete emancipation of every individual in the West Indies and on the South American continent.

What a theme is this for the truly republican patriot!—What a subject of rejoicing for the votaries of justice and liberty!—And how favourable is the circumstance to the aspirations of Christian charity, and Universal benevolence.

Citizens of the United States of America! Let not the people whom you have accused as the advocates of tyranny, take the lead of you in extinguishing the odious and disgusting system of African Slavery. You have hitherto been foremost in the glorious work of enlarging the boundaries of the territory assigned to Freedom, and in erecting the altars dedicated to her sacred use. Suffer not a blind apathy, an overweening avarice, or a mistaken policy, to retard your march in the road of fame; neither let the advocates of monarchy snatch the laurels from your brows; investing their temples with the halo which ought, exclusively, to adorn your own. May the Ghost of *Franklin* haunt you in the hour of slumber; may the spirit of the great *Washington* frown indignantly upon you, if the despots of Europe are permitted to excel in applying the principles of Universal liberty. How shall the cheeks of our patriots burn with shame, and how bitterly shall we regret the circumstance of our being the last to crown the Goddess of Liberty, in the new world, tho' the first to pay homage to her shrine!—But it must not be so.—It cannot be possible that the millions of Spanish and British slaves in the neighbouring provinces are destined to be warmed by the Sun of emancipation, while ours are over-shadowed by the chilling cloud of bondage: or, rather, it is not to be supposed that *we ourselves* shall remain so ignorant of our true interest, and regardless of our honour, as to refuse the children of Africa their just rights & privileges, until *kings* shall have set us the example, and thereby bring upon ourselves the merited opprobrium of conscious degradation and disgrace; the scorn and de-

riision of our contemporaries; and the endless reproaches of posterity.

"*More Latitudinism!*" exclaims Foley, of the St. Genevieve Correspondent, at the head of the article below. Poor fellow! I told him he would "shew the cloven foot bye & bye."

FROM THE CORRESPONDENT.

The following fantastical article, copied from the Edwardsville Spectator, would, to strangers, appear to convey an idea that the people of Illinois were averse to slavery.—We believe that we may safely state the reverse to be the fact; they find their state to be the receptacle of vagrant free negroes and runaway slaves from all parts—they find that from the difficulty of obtaining white men to labor, and the low price of produce, which will not pay the expence of the labor of free men, that in that state farmers cannot expect to realize any property or improve their condition—and they find that their state is neglected by emigrants of capital and property, who bend their course to where they can hold slaves. It will be seen by the late proceedings of the legislature, that a large majority are in favor of calling a convention to amend the constitution, and introduce slavery.

"*Attention.*—The friends of freedom, and enemies of lawless oppression and kidnapping, are respectfully invited to attend at the court house in Belleville, at 12 o'clock, on the second Saturday of March 1823, to form a society for the protection from kidnapping of free people of color, and of reclaiming those who have been kid-napped, and also for the freeing of those who are illegally restrained of their liberty. It is to be hoped, as the reputation of our state has been tarnished by the most disgraceful and unrestrained acts of violence on those unfortunate people, that the foes of oppression will now rally to their relief, and let the unjustly oppressed go free."

A Friend to Legal Rights.

A negro in Jamaica was tried for theft, and ordered to be flogged. He begged to be heard; which being granted, he asked, "If white man buy stolen goods, why he no be flogged too?"—"Well," said the judge, "so he would."—"Dere den," replied Mungo, "is my massa, he buy stolen goods; he knew me stolen, and yet he buy me."

The common council of Savannah, has, with a becoming feeling, refused to receive into the city treasury, any money, the proceeds of the sales of free blacks.

*Est Juxta a Justo Carum.**For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.*

"WHEN THOU ART CONVERTED, STRENGTHEN THY BRETHREN."

It is not the duty of such as see, or think they see the unrighteousness of any evil practice, to treat those who do not see and believe it to be an evil with *animadversion*, but *persuasion*, endeavouring, if possible, to show them the inconsistency thereof, and by precept and example, invite them to refrain therefrom.

The holding of slaves is now considered and believed (perhaps we may say) by the greater part of professing Christians, to be an evil of the deepest dye; whereas one and a half or two centuries ago, there were but few individuals who saw the inconsistency thereof; and many who were justly entitled to the Christian name, not seeing the evil of slaveholding, kept their fellow creatures in bondage: but in process of time, the rays of Gospel light being more and more spread over the nations, those few who were quick-sighted therein, began to see that it was inconsistent with the religion they professed, to buy and sell human flesh—to hold their fellow men in perpetual bondage. Being thus enlightened and clearly convinced in their own minds, they were indefatigable in their labours, to open the eyes—to convince the minds of others by pointing out and showing to them the enormous evil—the oppression and cruelty of defrauding a part of the human family of their natural right, LIBERTY.

And so successful were their labours, that thousands have been brought to see that slavery is not consistent with Justice, Love and mercy. So fully are they convinced—so faithfully do they support the testimony given them to bear, that many could now adopt the language of the celebrated Poet;

—"Dear as freedom is, and in my hearts
Just estimation prized above all price;
I had much rather be myself the slave,
And wear the bonds than fasten them on
him."

Now through the continuance and increase of light and knowledge, some genuine Philanthropists are still labouring for the advancement of justice and mercy,—still endeavouring by example and precept to put an end to the gain of oppression and diminish, as much as possible, the bulk of "human woe."

It is believed that all candid readers will readily admit that slavery is an enormous evil, and one that adds greatly to human misery: it will also be admitted

that this evil has its root—its support; as no tree can grow and flourish without roots to support its branches:—Let it now be asked, what is the root, and who are the supporters of the evil in question?

The man who steals poor slaves from Africa's coast—stows them in the ships and brings them over sea, to be sold like sheep or swine, has some object in view, and so has he who buys and makes them toil, half starved, on the islands and American plantations. What is their object? We will not hesitate to acknowledge that it is *money*, and this, comparatively, they pursue with a step as steady as time, and with an appetite as keen as death:—take away this, or deprive them of all hopes of gaining it, and their inhuman labours cease. Let it next be considered, who furnishes this object? where does it come from? who are the supporters and root of the enormous evil?—Pause here, friendly reader, and consider if thou art clear, for it cannot be denied that the consumers, and the traders in the products of slavery, furnish the object which the slave holder and slave driver are pursuing. If we are the persons who support the horrid traffic, let us extend our view to the mart of misery where the cruelty is perpetrated; there behold the husband and wife torn asunder—parents and children parted with the heart rending prospect of never meeting more; or view the plantations of sugar, cotton, coffee, &c. where the poor wretches, loaded with chains, under the oppressors lash, toil with hunger, thirst and pain.

If these objects do not excite our compassion, and make us resolve no more to buy, sell and use, the luxuries produced by slaves in distress, let us for a moment suppose that our own near and dear relatives, fathers, mothers, wives, husbands or children, were the objects of this unparalleled cruelty—that they were torn from our bosoms by some inhuman monster, and taken to an adjacent country or neighboring plantation, and there, forced to undergo all the complicated miseries of a cruel bondage: would we buy and use the proceeds of their labour, and so pay those monsters for their cruelty, exercised upon our dearest friends? Nay, surely we would not. Then how are we living up to the golden rule of doing unto others as we would that they should do unto us, under like circumstances? Some indeed will say, we pay honestly for our goods, and are not concerned to know how they are procured. Nay surely, but we are concerned, or ought to be, to know that they are

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

not stolen goods; for the saying of an eastern writer, though it may to some sound rather harsh, is certainly true; that,

"They who remotely, robbers goods obtain
To them are link'd, by an unbroken chain."

Be ye therefore entreated, candid readers, to examine the matter impartially, and be willing to undergo some small privations that we may be innocent of the blood of our fellow creatures; for "the sweets they make seem stained with human blood."

If, after all that has been or can be said on the subject, we cannot extend our compassion to the distressed sons and daughters of Africa; if we have no feeling for their sorrows, their sufferings and complicated woes, how can we with joy anticipate the day, when "Princes shall come forth out of Egypt, and Ethiopa stretch out her hands to God? or how can we hope to escape the woe pronounced against "him that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him naught for his work?"

HONESTY.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.

NO. XV.

Dear S.—It is somewhere observed by Solomon, that "*Pride cometh before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.*" Pride is the parent of avarice; and pride & avarice, in unison, have ever been the foster-mothers; and nurses of oppression, and of the crimes consequent upon it.

Over whatever mind pride has any considerable ascendancy, there is a disposition to oppress, in some form or other; and if possessed of power, it will be exercised in a greater, or in a less degree.—This is observable among men in the daily occurrences of life. Human nature has been the same in every age, and in all parts of the inhabited globe; and the schemes and intrigues of the aspiring mind of man, have ever been marked with folly, and have terminated in misery; and tho' a succession of established customs and usages may have rolled around their annual courses for ages, yet at length, in the dispensations of piercing Providence, the proud establishment of "legitimate" despots have been broken up, and a reverse of operations have succeeded. Such has been the case ever since the fall of man, and such, no doubt, will be the fate of nations, communities, and of individuals, until pride and avarice shall be conquered, and until man submits to the government of reason, and

makes justice and equity the standard of his life—and until he does this, every attribute of the God-head will stand engaged against him.

The human race, however diversified in colour, and in feature, are but one great family, and have proceeded from the same general progenitors, and are alike entitled to life and liberty, and to all that legal pursuit of happiness, which the author of our being has given to man as an unalienable inheritance, and which, one man cannot wrest from another, without breaking the laws of nature, that were established by Him who laid the foundation of the universe, and reared its stupendous fabric.—The principles of *equity*, or *equal rights*, are deeply engraven on our nature, and are interwoven with the stamina of the immortal mind of man; and hence, his quickness of sensibility when violence is offered to his rights, or an infringement on his native prerogatives is attempted. When man is deprived of that precious jewel, the soul cries to Heaven for redress, in a language well understood by omnipotence, and bears report of its wrongs to the lofty throne of Jehovah, which will be heard, and finally answered. But these laws of nature have been violated in innumerable instances, and in all ages, by the aspirations of men at greatness, and at domination over their equals; and the most consummate wickedness has marked the footsteps of tyrants, in pushing their haughty designs into operation.—Witness the butcheries, the robberies, and oppressions of kings, and of priests; and also, the barbarity, and cruel ravages committed in the slave trade, both foreign and domestic. As it is a self-evident fact that all men were created equal, it will incontestably follow, that no one man, was ever designed by the author of our being, to have dominion over another, and hence I conclude, that all monarchies are subversive of the laws of nature; much less can any part of the children of Adam be oppressed in any way, or degree, by another part, without doing violence to the decrees of Heaven.

The histories of the nations of antiquity, furnish tragical evidence, that their tyrannies and oppressions, with other concomitant crimes, have been rebuked by the visitations of Divine displeasure; nor may those of modern times that imitate them, either in whole, or in part, expect to escape the heavy chastisements of injured justice, and long insulted omnipotence:

What millions of millions in value of the

hard earned property of the poor and laboring part of mankind, have been wrested from them by the lordly tyrants that have usurped dominion over them, and wasted in building of sumptuous palaces, and other expensive edifices, (the ludicrous testimonials of their peccility) to add wealth and dignity to themselves, in order to command the admiration of other aspiring fools, and that their names might be immortalized among the pompous despots of succeeding ages. And what countless myriads of lives have been lost, what rivers of human blood have been shed, and millions of inoffensive men and women doomed to perpetual, unconditional slavery, to gratify the pride and ambition of kings, and other avaricious and aspiring mortals! But what has been the final issue of all this extravagance, pomp, and childish greatness, which have been held in such high estimation by ancient despots, and modern tyrants?—What has become of all the glory, the pomp, and splendor of ancient Babylon, the pride of the Chaldees, and the capitol of their empire?—Where is the magnificence of Nineveh, of Memphis, of Jerusalem, of Tyre, of Carthage, of Corinth, of Greece, and republican Rome, with all other tyrannical cities, and governments, whose rulers wallowed in wealth and wickedness, and rioted on the spoils, obtained by rapine, and oppression? Where, I say, is all this splendor now?—Buried, forever buried, with the haughty owners, under the rubbish of their desolated, ruined, and in some instances, annihilated cities and governments; and their names, and desolations are handed down to posterity, as beacons, to warn all succeeding ages, to avoid the causes of their fearful destruction. Nor do I believe that it will be very many years, before it may be asked with as much solemnity, what has become of all the great emperors, kings, and other tyrants of Christendom, with all their monopolies, their pomp, and splendor—their costly palaces, and superb mansions, built by the oppression of their more than half starved millions of subjects, whose “legitimate” tyrants have robbed them of their freedom, and their rights, that they might swim in pleasure, and in crime, while the governed were sinking in penury and want? The answer no doubt, will be: They are gone! forever gone, and they are numbered with the years beyond the flood!!! Babylon must fall, and tyranny and oppression, both in states and amongst private individuals, will have an end. Darkness and ignorance are the pillars, on which alone the thrones of despotism stand; and when

that comes to be removed by the luminous orbs of science, and the rays of political light, the ruthless fabrics will come to dissolution. For some years past, political light has been darting its rays amongst the nations around, and the oppressed part of men are beginning to see their wrongs, and are becoming more and more restless under their yokes; and it is highly probable, that it will not be long before they will finally break their shackles, and assert their heaven born rights;—Or Heaven will interpose on their behalf in some other way, for “the oppressor shall cease.”

The signs of the times appear to be indicative of the extirpation of “legitimates,” and of great effusions of blood; but whether or not the present rumors of war in Europe, may be harbingers of the downfall of monarchy in that quarter of the world, time must yet decide. And whether the United States of America may not be visited by the present threatening chastisement, by being some how or other involved in the impending calamities of Europe, is yet in the womb of futurity.—Ignorance cannot be pleaded by our nation, in extenuation of its crimes; the effusion of political light must prevent the plea. The United States of America were first among the nations of modern times, to assert the rights of man, to throw off the yoke of political oppression from her neck; but what have been her returns of gratitude to Heaven, whose aid she invoked, for her deliverance? “Shame burn the cheek to cinder.”—No sooner was she established in her independence, than she turned round, and instead of breaking the yoke from off the necks of her African brethren, whom her oppressors, in conjunction with herself, had brought into bondage, she is still retaining them, amounting in numbers, to nearly two millions of souls, in hopeless slavery, and degrading personal vassalage, a thousand times worse than that which she had so recently been delivered from! What a stain upon our national character! Thus it is, while Americans are loudly boasting to the world that they are the freest people on earth, and that their political institutions are unequaled by any other nation on the globe, all the nations that know us, may laugh at our inconsistencies, and with too much justice, place us as a nation, in the ranks with the slave making, and slave holding tribes of Barbary, and the wild Arabs of the deserts. But the day of retribution is rolling on, and the time of visitation is drawing near, if the fate of ancient oppressive nations is prophetic of the modern; and unless we loose

fiat desinit fiat carum.

our iron grip, and break the galling yoke of bondage, which we have riveted around their necks, we may look out for the rod of chastisement! "With the same measure that ye mete, it shall be measured to you again," was the declaration of him that cannot lie. These words have been literally accomplished, in the reduction of the Egyptians, the Jews, the Greeks, &c. who were once great oppressors of their fellow-men, under the galling yoke of Turkish and other tyrants, who are measuring to them in full tale, what they had so liberally measured to others, in their prosperity; and who, no doubt, were then as secure in their minds from a reverse of circumstances, and a day of rebuke, as we are now in the days of our prosperity, and self-dependence.

Shall we, who were the first at beginning to break the shackles of tyranny, be the last in completing it?—Shall we suffer the handwinked, priest ridden Spaniards, of South America, to get before us in rearing the standard of *Universal Liberty*, while they shall leave us, at least, half buried in the loathsome grave of political and monarchical despotism?

Good policy, humanity, and justice, forbid it! Let Americans put away this monarchical custom, and maintain the genuine principles of republicanism, which are proclaimed in their declaration of rights. The "legitimacy" of emperors and of kings, and the "legitimacy" of slave holders, are kindred plants, and grow out of the same root.—They are certainly hail fellows, well met. The "legitimacy" of kings, &c. was established by the laws of kings, emperors, &c. declaring that some one member of a certain family, (who by the bye, had better blood in its veins than they) should be legal heir to the crown of that empire, or kingdom, by hereditary succession; and the legitimacy of slave holding, have been established by the laws made by slave holders, declaring that a certain cast of human beings shall be the property of themselves and their heirs, with their issue forever.—But the legality and justice of either of these laws, are utterly to be rejected, and are altogether unconstitutional, upon the principles of the laws of nature, and the spirit of the christian religion.

Lo! light is increasing in the world, and the darkness of despotism must retreat before it; and I do cheerfully anticipate a day, at no very distant period, when emperors and kings, will be out of fashion;—when priest-craft shall become obsolete; when slavery, with every grade of oppres-

sion, shall cease in the world, and when justice, humanity, and genuine piety, shall govern the nations of the earth.

I am &c.

IRENEUS.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 174.)

As equity, and injustice, are at variance, and cannot dwell in one heart, at one and the same time, neither can one that lives in the spirit and practice of slavery, be a true follower of the meek and lowly Jesus, who, though he thought it not robbery to be equal with God, took upon himself the form of a servant, and became poor, that we might become rich—not rich in this world's goods, but rich in grace, and rich in faith.

"Thus saith the Lord, how hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God." The reason is, because they set their affections on them and worship their riches, more than they do their Maker. I fear there are many slave holders in this our day, who make a high profession of the religion of Jesus, and who do much for the support of missions, and the conversion of the heathen in foreign nations, who was our lord to speak to them, as he did to the young man in the gospel, would like him, go away sorrowful.

Query, why should they go away sorrowful?

Ans. because they love their riches more than their creator; for it is written "if any man love me, he will keep my sayings."

Slavery may indeed be said to be the climax of cruelty, for it deprives our fellow mortals of all that is near and dear to them on this side of the grave. More than this, it strikes directly at the government of the Adorable Father of mankind, who made of one blood, all the nations upon the face of the earth.

Query. Why does it strike at the Divine government?

Ans. Because man, owes to God, certain duties, and is under certain obligations, from the performance of which, no earthly power can possibly release him; some of which, are the cultivation of the mind, or in short, we may say, the fulfilment of the requisition of the Gospel; but the relation a slave bears to his master, proclaims the impracticability of the performance of those duties.

In this way, the slaves are kept in impenetrable ignorance, by being forced to yield to the will of their masters, even when the master's will is in direct opposi-

What Justice! What Calam.

tion to the injunctions of the Almighty!—I would ask, what must be the unavoidable result of such conduct as this?—Will not the wrath of Heaven be provoked at such a dishonor to his name, and at such cruel injustice to the objects of his Paternal care. I am well aware, that there are some who profess themselves to be friends to the cause of humanity, and wish something to be done for the melioration of the situation of the people of colour among us, who are ready to say, "this doctrine is too rough." As an apology for its harshness, I would say to an objector:—Imagine yourself the head of a family, whom you love tenderly. I say, reflect for a moment:—Were these to be torn from you by unfeeling, and unmerciful flesh-merchants, instead of crying out, "too rough doctrine," you would rather say, "that language is not sufficient to express, or to paint the enormity of their crimes!"—You would then apply the Golden Rule, and say to your oppressors, do unto all men as you would they should do unto you.

Another reason I would annex for the roughness of the doctrine, is, by being too modest to show men the enormity of their guilt, we may rock them to sleep in the cradle of carnal security; or else cause them to sit down in quiet under the burden of their guilt, and rest at ease, till the grim monster, death, comes to summon them to the bar of God, to give an account for the deeds done in the body; whilst, had we, that have set to our hands to combat error & vice, done our duty, and not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God, they might have got a discovery of their situation by nature, and sought the Lord with all their hearts. Many other things of great importance, might be bro't forward to prove the necessity of dealing plainly with men, as accountable beings to God; but believing that a sufficiency has already been adduced, I shall let it suffice for the present, and close the subject with a few words to you, my brethren, who have set your hands to this most humane work. I would call upon you to use every exertion in the limits of your power, to pull down the strong holds of self interest, vice, superstition, ignorance & folly, which have been raised in our otherwise happy country.

I would also strongly recommend to you, my brethren, as one of the surest means of doing good, and of accomplishing this object, to frequently approach the throne of grace, imploring the blessings of heaven on our labours! I think by acting in this

way, our existence will prove a blessing to ourselves, and to those around us, and not only so, but generations yet unborn, may reap the fruit of our labour, to the joy and comfort of their souls. And by this course of conduct, I think we may safely promise ourselves lasting and permanent happiness, both in this world and that to come.

JUVENILE PHILANTHROPIST.

Passed the inspecting committee, of the Manumission Society, March 18th, 1823.

A. MARSHALL Chm.

T. DOAN Clk.

MEXICO.

Judge Austin.—By the arrival of Dr. Graham from the city of Mexico, we have received letters and papers to the 22d of February, by which we learn that Mr. Austin had finally succeeded in obtaining from the legislative and executive branches of that empire complete confirmation of his grant for the settlement of a colony in the province of Texas.

The confirmation is accompanied by the most liberal terms to both Mr. Austin and the settlers. He is vested with the rank of colonel and charged with immediate command of the militia; and is also charged with the administration of justice within the colony, (under the orders of the province until the municipal organization is regulated according to the constitution & laws.

The settlers are authorised by law to take in many articles free of duty—to carry in their slaves, who are to continue slaves for life; those born in the empire are to be free at the age of fourteen. The settlers are also free from all taxes, tythes, &c. for six years, and then only pay half what the natives pay for six years thereafter.

Africa. The U. S. ship *Cyane*, capt. Spence, was at Sierra Leone, March 6th, where she arrived on the 24th of Feb. Capt. S. had been ill, but was on the recovery. The residue of the officers and crew, were in good health. A letter published in the N. Y. Daily Advertiser, states that the colonists at Cape Mesurado, had been repeatedly attacked by the natives, and were in a critical state. Captain Spence, on receiving this intelligence, decided to repair and fit out, for their relief and security, the United States' schr. *Augusta*. Lieut. Dashiell was ordered to command her, having two midshipmen and twelve sailors: and she will doubtless prove essentially useful, until orders from the government on the subject are received. The preser-

Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum.

vation of even the lives of the remaining colonists demand the most prompt, expeditious, and decisive measures; and every friend to humanity must approve of the steps taken on this occasion. Every officer and man of the Cyane are in requisition to forward the equipment, &c. of the Augusta, and the moment she was seaworthy, both vessels would proceed for Mesurado, where, it would appear, the colonists have acted with firmness and bravery, while contending against very superior numbers, and with limited means of defence.

From the New-York Daily Advertiser, May 14.

Slavery.—Sir Robert Wilson, in submitting a petition to the British Parliament on the 27th of March, on the subject of Slavery, remarked that in their "West India Colonies there were about one million of human beings, who every morning as the sun rose, were awakened by the echoing lash of the whip, and knew but too well that they were to be punished for the remainder of the day, like cattle, at the caprice of or discretion of the overseer."

The donations to benevolent societies in our country the last year, were between two and three hundred thousand dollars.—Of this sum 59,000 dollars were received by the American Board for Foreign Missions; and 17,000 dollars by the American Education Society.—*Boston Recorder.*

MUSES' BOWER.

*Americans' plead for the rights of mankind—
Of the bond-man as well as the free:
Unrivet the fetters of body and mind,
'Neath the shade of your Liberty Tree.*

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

As Melpomene pensive sat, alone,
Beneath a wither'd Cypress, on a stone,
In mourning robes with sackcloth under spread,
With Willows crown'd and ashes on her head,
From fair Thalia's hand she snatch'd the lyre
And tun'd it with a melancholy air.
Then as with grace she swept the strings along,
Freedom for man, and Justice was her song.
And as she sung most movingly she said,
O could I paint that fatal horrid trade!
Horrid indeed, I think enough to shame
All who profess to bear the Christian name.

Must droves of fetter'd slaves forever
through

Our streets, and few of us e'en think it
wrong?

Shall Afric's sable sons forever be
Vended for slaves, tho' born by Nature free?
Shall gripping avarice too with iron hand
And stony heart drive justice from the land?
Shall man alone prove savage to his kind,
Enslave his body, brutalize his mind?
Shall husbands, wives, and children, torn
apart,

Remain the object of so base a mart?
Shall every breeze that o'er our country blows

Be made the bearer of ten thousand woes?
Shall I be heard for those to intercede,
And must I ever wear my mourning weed,
In sackcloth and in ashes here remain,
'Till mercy, peace, & freedom all are slain?
Freedom, to thee I fain would trophies raise,
And willing tune my harp in sweetest lays.
Awake my song, and tho' in humble strain,
The oppressed sable captives' rights maintain.

Yes, Freedom, who can fully sing thy praise.
Or who declare the pleasure of thy ways?

Columbia's Eagle, ever proudly free,
Emblem of Liberty's most sacred tree,
O let thy starry banner cease to wave,
Or cease to fan the humble toiling slave.
Thus sang sweet Melpomene while alone;
The tender lay might almost melt a stone:
May zephyrs waft it to each list'ning ear,
And should oppression's vot'ries deign to hear,

Then grant O Lord she may the strain
prolong,

'Till all, enraptured, haste to join the song.
CLIO.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"*Africanus*" and "*A. C.*" are reluctantly postponed, to make room for others that claimed precedence, having come in sooner. "*Philo Humanitas*," "*Modern Listener* No. 13," and an Extra; together with several others, are received, and will appear shortly.

GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE.

PUBLISHED EVERY OTHER WEEK.

TERMS.—One dollar per annum, in advance, or one dollar and fifty cents, before the expiration of the year, for single subscriptions.—Ten dollars per dozen copies, for companies.

Complete files may be had from the beginning.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY, GREENEVILLE, TEN. AT \$1 PER ANN. ADV.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."—*Declaration Independence U. S.*

No. 16. Vol. II.

SIXTH MONTH, 19, 1823.

WHOLE No. 28.

The present Number completes the second Volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Wishing to crowd in several articles which seem properly to belong to the volume, I shall not allow myself but little more room than to say, *I am not yet disposed "to give up the ship."* The prospect ahead is cheering; and, if I am not much mistaken, the third volume will be more interesting than either of the preceding. My patrons may expect a few more familiar remarks in the next paper.

The Title Page and Index for this Vol. will be forwarded to subscribers in a few weeks.

By the the last mail, I received a letter enclosing a few subscriptions, from a gentleman of high standing in Illinois, whose general information enables him to form a just conclusion, no doubt, relative to the politics of that state. I have taken the liberty to extract the following from it for the information of the readers of this work, trusting that he will excuse the freedom I have used. It will be observed that there is a striking similarity between his opinion and my own, as expressed in No. 11, of the present volume, respecting the public feeling in that section of country, on the subject of Slavery.

June, 4th 1823.

"I am the more anxious to circulate your paper in this state, in consequence of a strange infatuation having seized many of the leading men in our last legislature, the consequence of which, was a resolution to call a convention, in order to expunge the best part of our constitution, and recognize slavery. A violent struggle will be made at our August Election in 1824; therefore every friend of liberty should be up and doing; the advocates of a convention are losing ground (in my opinion,)—the counties on the Ohio river, adjacent to Ky. are generally in favour of the measure, and also one or two on the Mississippi, adjacent to Missouri; but the counties on the Wabash, and the interior of the state, are very much in opposition to it. Though it is yet doubtful with some, my opinion is, a majority will vote against a convention: still we

must not lull ourselves into a state of security. If a majority of votes shall be given, in favour of a convention and one called, slavery will without doubt be recognised, as the slave counties, at this time have the advantage of Representation, and would have it in a Convention. I am certain a large majority of the citizens of this state are opposed to slavery; but some of them will, (I fear) be cheated out of their rights.

I am Dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

PROGRESS OF LIBERTY.—The following statement is from the Christian Observer for March, 1823:—

"Fifty years ago, the number of persons living under free governments, were

In the British dominions about	12,000,000
In Holland,	2,300,000
In Switzerland	1,500,000

Total	15,800,000
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In the Year 1823—

British subjects in Europe	16,000,000
United States	11,000,000
French	29,000,000
Dutch and Netherlands	3,200,000
S. American Republicans about	13,000,000
The Brazils	3,500,000
Spain	9,000,000
Portugal	2,500,000

Total	87,200,000
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Thus eighty seven millions have arisen from fifteen, in less than fifty years."

The Slave Trade.—Late accounts from Europe state that the King of Sweden, by a decree dated the 18th December last, has ordained that all Swedish and Norwegian ships which shall be found engaged in the slave trade, "shall forfeit the protection of his government for having violated the laws of the kingdom, and that they shall be denied such protection if they apply for it."

[Thus we see the nations of the earth gradually opening their eyes to a sense of the evils of the SLAVE TRADE.—When will the people of this republican country be willing to do away the cause of it?]

"FIRST CAST THE BEAM OUT OF THINE OWN EYE."

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
IRENEUS TO SOPHRONIA.
 NO XVI.

Dear S— Amongst the various occurrences which have arrested my attention, there is one, & that not the least interesting, which I shall give some outlines of in this communication;—it being the substance of a dialogue between a *Missionary* and a *Foreigner*:

DIALOGUE.

Missionary. I should suppose sir, from appearances, that you are a stranger—perhaps, a foreigner, and not a citizen of this country.

Foreigner. You rightly conjecture—the appearances you speak of would authorise you so to judge.

M. Might I crave your country, and native place of abode?

F. Yes sir; the Birman Empire.

M. I am happy in the interview; I shall perhaps, reap a plentiful harvest of information with respect to that country, and its inhabitants, which may be of singular service to me, in the prosecution of my ministerial labors, amongst that idolatrous people.

F. From what you say, I gather that you intend paying a visit to the land of my nativity:—have you a view of becoming a citizen of that country; or are you a commissioned Envoy to one of the Courts of the Empire?

M. Neither of them. I have been qualified at one of the highest Seminaries of learning in our country, for the all important trust of a *Missionary*, and am about to

be sent, by one of the great and benevolent *Missionary Societies* of our nation to preach the "Everlasting Gospel" to the idolatrous people of your country, that they may come to the knowledge of the true God, by being instructed in the principles and doctrines of the christian religion, without which, they cannot be saved.

F. I freely acknowledge that the Ministry of the Gospel in its proper acceptation, governed wholly by the spirit of Christ, is of the last importance to the human race; but you will please to excuse the ignorance of a stranger, for, from your habiliments and appendages, I took you to be a dignified minister of State, instead of an humble Apostle of Jesus Christ, whose life, death, and doctrines, I have read in what is called the New Testament, sent to our people by the Bible Societies of some other countries.

M. Then it seems you have seen the great charter of the christian religion—pray, what do you think of it?

F. I have both seen and read it, and also think well of it; believing it to contain the most excellent system of morality, and of sublime devotion, that has ever been published to the world. And I further believe, that if the scriptures were generally distributed amongst our people, and likewise amongst other nations that are destitute of them, in theseveral vernacular tongues, without note or comment, that the inhabitants by reading them, might learn the ways of the Lord more perfectly than they had done before, his holy spirit being the interpreter of their divine mysteries,—though

Piat Justitia Ruit Caelum.

they have never yet been left entirely destitute of spiritual communications;—for in the works of creation, the eternal power and Godhead are manifest; and the grace of God which has appeared to all men, (in a greater, or in a less degree) as a divine teacher, has also appeared to us; and the holy ghost or comforter, that reproves the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, has likewise been our reprover, who are called heathens, and it is to be charitably presumed, that millions of them have obeyed these heavenly instructors, and have obtained eternal salvation through the merits of the common saviour; and that they are not all sent to perdition, who, without any fault of theirs, have not been in possession of the holy scriptures.

M. While the scriptures are distributing amongst the heathen, the benevolent missionary societies of christendom, are sending out their heralds of salvation, to enforce the doctrines of the Bible on its readers; and to preach the gospel to the ends of the earth, that all the world may be converted to the christian faith, the earth filled with the knowledge of the glory of God, as the waters cover the sea, and the promised millennium be ushered in, with all its glory and divine excellence.

F. That would be a most desirable epoch! That would be a return of the halcyon days of Evangelical peace and purity, not in one little spot, as in Palestine, but over the whole earth.—O! that I could see the accomplishment of that divine prediction; for when in the land of my nativity, I read in the New Testament, of the purity and simplicity of the primitive christians;—their crucifixion to the world, with the love and peace that ruled their whole deportment; their unfeigned humility, and their liberal and charitable distribution of their goods to all that needed, I was so delighted with that transporting state of true Gospel felicity, that I could no longer wait the tardy movements of reformation in my own country, but set out for the land of christians, where I might see it realized in all its sublime perfections.

M. It is providential that you are come, for you will receive much strength and edification by attending our sanctuaries of devotion, and derive many benefits from christian communion; as well as much light and spiritual knowledge by conversing with our deeply experienced christians.

F. Whether my coming to your country has been quite providential or not, I am now unable to say;—but this I can say, that

I have been grievously disappointed in my expectations.

M. How disappointed!—have not your anticipations been realized?

F. No indeed!—And if the scriptures be true, and I believe they are, I fear, from certain appearances, that, instead of a land of christians, I have got into a land of idolaters.

M. What hast thou seen, my brother, that is so terrifying?

F. The scriptures say, that “covetousness is idolatry,” and that “ye cannot serve God and Mammon;” but in no part of the world, where I have been, has *Mammon* more votaries, nor the pomps and splendours of this world more admirers, than there seems, to my view, to be in christendom; and should the whole of the heathen nations be converted to just such a christianity as appears to be in the highest repute in the christian world, & this state of things to constitute the millennial glory which you are aiming by your missionary exertions to usher into existence, a depraved, a corrupt, and a motley Millenium it would surely be.

M. But this is a land of Bibles, of churches, and of christians, and a land of Gospel light, and of Missionary zeal—what could it have more?

F. What signifies its being a land of Bibles, unless you “stick to the text?”—this will but add to your condemnation, and as to your churches, as you call them, some of them, from their towering spires and steeples, with other splendid and costly workmanship and needless embellishments, have a greater resemblance to ancient heathen temples, than of sanctuaries of a christian devotion, where the humble, meek, and self denying disciples of the lowly Jesus, meet to worship him in spirit and in truth. That there are many christians scattered up and down in your country, I do not deny, but that the generality of even those that make the highest profession of it, are such, is much to be doubted, if the tree is to be known by its fruits; and if you have much Gospel light, you may recollect, that light misimproved, will increase guilt, and multiply stripes;—the conjunction of good principles and bad practices, looks like “holding the truth in unrighteousness.”—And as to Missionary zeal, I should suppose that if it had been of the right kind its success in the suppression of the many corruptions which are winked at, if not tolerated in your country, would have been more manifest, than what there is any rea-

son to believe has yet attended it.

M. It is true that there are yet amongst us many sinners that are unconverted, and out of the pale of church fellowship; but as to the great corruptions you speak of, I am at a loss to know what they are.

F. Men that are accustomed to seeing crimes perpetrated with impunity, become hardened by the commonness of the sight, and their eyes grow blind to the moral deformity. Were it not the case, with yourselves, you would see, that in vain you may be anticipating the conversion of the heathen, and the ushering in of the millennium by your Missionary efforts, while human bloodshed and carnage, haggard slavery, pride, gripping avarice, conformity to the world, drunkenness, circumvention, with many other enormities, are practised among you, & some of them patronized by you!

M. Would you have us lay aside all our Missionary plans, and so let the heathens perish for lack of knowledge, in their idolatry and ignorance?

F. I have already told you that Missionary plans that are truly Apostolical, are of the highest importance to the human race; but I should suppose that it would be the wisest policy, for you, in your present corrupted condition, to begin at home, and first "make the tree good, that his fruit may be good also"; and *cleanse the fountain, that bitter waters may not issue from it*;—and in a word, to pluck the beam out of your own eyes, before you go abroad to collect motes from the eyes of others.

M. But Missionaries are very numerous in our country, and there are many more in the hands of the *qualifiers*, that will soon be ready for service, so that there will be many to spare to the heathens after keeping a sufficiency for the services of our own country.

F. If there were a million of them, I should suppose, from the small progress that has hitherto been made in christianizing your own people, that it would take them an age or two, to effect any thing like a truly Evangelical reformation at home, without having one to spare to their heathen neighbours.

M. I cannot think that our country is in so unfavorable a situation as to religion and morals, as you represent it.—I should suppose that there could be but little to effect here, in point of a general reformation, either in principles or practice, in comparison of what would be required to remove the idolatrous customs of your people, and to inspire them with the principles of christianity.

F. By the time you have conquered the one half of that formidable host of corruptions, which I have just now enumerated, you will have found that you had no time to be idle!

M. More pigmies, when put in contrast with that gigantic wooden god, Juggernaut, with his mussy ear, drawn by *holy Elephants*, under whose croaking wheels, hundreds of idolatrous victims are self sacrificed and crushed to death, to appease that grim, and senseless Idol!

F. I speak not by way of retort;—but by comparing the transactions of the people of one country, with those of another, I wish you to see, that there is not so much room for applying the epithets, *heathen*, and *heathenish*, to one set of people, more than to another, as some men would fondly insinuate. And if you will but turn your attention to the *bloody wars* of Christendom, with banners sanctified by prayers of *holy priests*, where *christians* with *christians*, join in murderous conflict dire, to gratify their thirst for gain, by pride, ambition, and voracious avarice inspired, each other sacrifice to their grim gods of gold; and eager to hungry death, full twice ten thousand at a single meal, you will find an over-match for Juggernaut, in Christian crimes!

M. It is a notorious fact, that the horrid practice of the living wife burning on the funeral pile of her deceased husband, prevails in your country, and that it is not only tolerated, but even justified, and encouraged by the priesthood, and also by others!

F. It is lamentably the case. Every country has its superstitions and idolatries;—I have been very creditably informed, that it has been estimated by intelligent men in your country, that there are yearly, many hundreds of human victims self immolated at the shrine of your great *Christian Juggernaut*, as *ardent spirits*; and by means of that potent Idol, many thousands of beggared lamines, are suffering all the miseries consequent upon such Bacchanalianism; and that numerous murders, robberies, and rapes, have been its constant concomitants!

M. We uniformly preach against drunkenness.

F. But perhaps you do not as uniformly preach against the manufacture of its means—this might affect the interest of a pious church member.

M. The unparalleled barbarity and superstition of your people, in throwing their young children into the river *Ganges*, to be devoured by sharks and alligators, sup-

Fit Justitia Tunc Cuius.

posing it to be a God, exceeds every other act of cruelty, except that of crushing to death under the wheels of Juggernaut, and certainly calls for missionary exertion, to save them from that ignorance and its direful effects.

P. The earth is indeed, full of the habitations of cruelty, and there is no place on the inhabited globe, where the misery of man is not great upon him, and where the rights of humanity have not been sacrificed upon the altar of *lucre*, or of superstition. It is certainly an act of unfeeling barbarity, and an outrage on the rights of humanity in the people of Hindostan, thus to sacrifice some of their children to the supposed god, Ganges, to be devoured by sharks and alligators; but not a greater, I presume, than for *Christians to sacrifice two millions of the coloured population of their enlightened country, on the broad forbidden altar of avarice!* And though the Hindoo children which are thrown into the river Ganges, should have all their bones broken to pieces by sharks and alligators, while the suffering victims were writhing in all the agonies of so painful an exit, I could not believe that they had not an easier death, and would be sooner out of their misery, (because it would be accomplished in an instant) than many thousands of innocent, helpless children in your country of *Bibles, of churches, and of Christians,* who are thrown into the horrid gulf of *slavery*, and there confined from generation to generation, in hopeless, helpless, and remediless vassalage and degradation; to be devoured by peace meal, under the lacerating paws of merciless tyrants, more cruel than either sharks or alligators—cutting, slashing, starving, and selling them, without either remorse, or commiseration! * These cruelties, with the forcible and final separation of the nearest and dearest connexions in life, for the purposes of traffic, and gain, are not only tolerated in your land of missionary zeal, but justified by some of your clergy, and gloried in by many of your highest professors of religion!!!

M. Our missionary brethren, disapprove of these evils, and lament their existence in our country.

F. But you hold the perpetrators of many of them in church communion, and acknowledge them to be your brethren in Christ.

*Many of the owners of slaves, act towards them with great humanity; but it is far otherwise with numbers of others.

M. We cannot compel our slave holding members, to liberate their slaves, nor the avaricious to forsake their covetousness.

F. Then excommunicate them; for while you hold such in church communion, you bid God speed to their crimes, and are partakers of their evil deeds;—This may be the cause why there has so little success attended your Missionary exertions at home. You have, perhaps, harbored and cherished *Jahans* in your camps; and it may be, thousands of them, with their *wed-ges of gold, their two hundred, or perhaps, two thousand shekels of silver, and their Babylonish garments,* securely hid in their tents under their several cloaks of religion; and instead of bringing them forth out of the camps, and stoning them to death, by the enforcing of christian discipline, you suffer them to remain amongst you with their *"accursed things,"* and thus, the powers of darkness prevail against you!

M. But may we not hope for better times, if things are not now as they should be?

F. By the use of better means, you may, and not without. The prospects are gloomy—the primitive Christians "were of one heart, and one soul," but you are a divided people, and cannot agree among yourselves about the right road to heaven; one sect saying it is this way, and another, that it is that, and it is to be feared, that a zeal for proselyting and adding numbers to your several parties, is in a much higher state of cultivation amongst some of you, at least, than a zeal for the conversion of sinners to the practices of evangelical righteousness. Jealousy is cruel as the grave; and who can endure the success of a competitor? But still, I must believe that there is a small remnant of truly pious persons in all of your religious denominations, that are bowed down as the bulrush, and bewail the desolations of their Christian professing Jerusalem; for if I am not deceived in the appearance of things, I am bound to believe that every religion professing society that I have any knowledge of, has more or less apostatized in practice, from its fundamental principles; and that by turning aside after filthy lucre, has been taken captive by worldly considerations.

M. What better means can be used, than what have already been employed.

F. Go back to evangelical principles and practices. Reject every thing that is called religion, that is not of the operation of the spirit of Christ, producing "a faith that works by love, purifies the heart, and crucifies the flesh, with the affections and

lusts." Purge the priesthood, and cast out the Achaens from amongst the clergy; for they are men of like passions with others, and are liable to covet *wedges of gold*, as other men; and if in whole or in part, should be the object of their ministerial labours, they are but the followers of *Demus*, and their works will be as unprofitable as his were. Be yourselves examples to your flocks, in humility and self denial; nor put up with a religion that will not crucify you to the world; and let the spirit of Christ be alone your *qualifier* for the work of the ministry, and in all your clerical operations.

Thus qualified, whether learned or unlearned, you may begin to look for your pious exertions to be crowned with success, both at home and abroad; for the works of darkness will retreat before you.

Emancipate your slaves, and restore to them the rights, of which they have been so long unjustly deprived; and according to your power, make them full restitution for their privations, and abuses; and after you have taught them the knowledge of letters, which, as Christians, you are bound to do, bestow on these *two millions of untaught heathens*, which are in the bosom of your country, a liberal donation of Bibles, and afford them your missionary aid, which has hitherto been shamefully neglected.

When you have purged your Christian country from this ebon coloured stain, and from all your other above specified corruptions and *Idols*, and have brought your people all back to primitive Gospel Christianity, you may then begin to think about the conversion of the heathen, and the ushering in of the promised Millenium.

The above dialogue being now concluded, I shall submit it without comment, & subscribe myself, &c.

IRENEUS.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.
OBSERVATIONS FOR SLAVEHOLDERS, WITH
REGARD TO THE POLICY OF HOLDING
SLAVES, AS RESPECTS THEIR OWN INTEREST.

I believe it to be the general belief of the advocates of slavery, that great advantage is to be gained, as it respects their own interest, by having slaves to till and cultivate their lands, instead of having it done by freemen. With paying them the customary hire for their labour; thinking thereby to have this labour carried on with less expence, and with less trouble, and seem-

ingly with simply the expence of clothing & feeding their negroes, supposing by these means they will soon pay their first cost, and after that point is gained, have their labor done with far less expence than it could be done by any other means. But it is my opinion, if they were to make regular calculations, and proper reflections upon the subject, with taking every thing into consideration, they would find they are laboring under a great mistake in this respect.

We find mankind in general are actuated by a certain impulse of mind that leads them on to industry,—are much given to emulation, and are much swayed by ambition;—and in pursuing an object must have something in view, or some inducement towards the right pursuit of that object. But I would ask a slaveholder what inducement his negro has to work. He is a slave—he knows he is in bondage, and knows there is no possibility of escape;—deprived of hope, that best of human passions, he cannot look forward to future years with pleasure or heart-felt satisfaction—with the expectation of enjoying the fruit of his labor, or of passing his latter days in content and happiness, possessed of his own fireside, and surrounded with wife, children & friends; but may literally be called a being of despair, with nothing to excite his emulation, nothing to raise one spark of ambition within his breast, or stir him into action;—he cares not for work, having no expectation of interest or advantage from his labor,—and when he does work, it is with reluctance, oftentimes doing but half what he otherwise would do, were he a freeman. If he labours but little, he is supported, and if he labors hard, he receives no advantage from his industry;—he knows his bonds are unjust, and therefore serves his master with indifference, and in a manner by compulsion. How different is it with the man of freedom;—though he may be black, he enjoys the fruit of his labor, and labors with animation, spurred by ambition, incited by the hope of one day enjoying the fruits of his industry, either by himself as an independent being, or, with wife, children, and home,—blessed with competency, and all that can render life happy and desirable. With such incitements to emulation, how can it be otherwise expected, than that the freeman should excel the slave in industry and enterprise, who, without one single ray of hope, is doomed to perpetual bondage. We generally perceive by actual observation, in our travels

Piat Justitia Ruat Caelum.

through the country, a striking difference between those farms tended and cultivated wholly by freemen, and those attended wholly by slaves. In one we perceive that attention, regularity and order, not often to be seen in the other. We see well cultivated fields, with fine crops of clover, rye, wheat, Indian corn, &c. &c. generally well tilled and cultivated,—together with good fences, large barns, and every other necessary in its place, the mark of industry and independence;—while on the other hand we often perceive neglected, half uncultivated fields, with indifferent crops, and these but poorly attended,—fences down or in bad order, with barns and other out houses in poor condition, all bespeaking improper management and want of attention. Being too much left to slaves who are careless and indifferent, the farm and all attending it soon gets into the situation in which it is seen, which but too plainly indicates to every reflecting mind, that where slavery exists, attention and good order do not generally prevail, but too often give way to slothfulness and indifference, both being highly injurious to the farmer and to the community at large. On the other hand, where liberty and industry dwell, the farmer enjoys all their concomitant blessings, and though he has his labor for his hire, he grows rich and independent, while the slaveholder counts upon his riches by the number of slaves he possesses, who are often rendering him poorer and poorer by their inactivity and indifference to labour.

We observe in many parts of the Union whole farms cultivated altogether by free blacks, who, being free, labor with energy and vigour, and do perhaps double the work that the same number of negroes would do in a state of slavery; and though these free men are hired for the purpose, yet they require but little more than a sufficiency for support for themselves and families;—thereby incurring but little more expense to the farmer than though these negroes were his slaves, while at the same time the advantage he often derives from the superior improvement of his farm, and the superiority of his crops over what the slaveholder acquires with perhaps double the number of negroes, is sufficient to convince him that happiness and wealth consist not in a large plantation well stocked with negroes of bondage, but in a plantation wholly cultivated by those whose breasts are warmed and invigorated with freedom's blessings. It is to be admitted

there are some exceptions to these remarks, but how few are these exceptions in comparison with the numerous instances to the contrary where slavery exists. But allowing them to be generally correct, as must be conscious to the minds of many,—is it not surprising that man should be thus blind and indifferent to his own general interest, and to the interest of his common country. Why will a farmer thus rate his riches by the number of slaves he possesses, or entertain the idea that it is for his advantage to have them, seeing they are but imaginary riches, and are but impoverishing him day by day, and thus rendering our otherwise happy country poorer and poorer;—for is it not but too evident that these slaves many of them consume far more than they raise, and are the cause of those farms producing far less than they would otherwise produce, were these men in a state of freedom;—for were all those free who are now in bondage, nearly double the labor would be done, and in consequence nearly double the produce would be thrown into the market; or on the contrary about half the number of blacks in a state of freedom, would do all the labor that is now done by the present number of those in slavery, and the consequence would be, there would remain but half the number to feed that now have to be supported, which would have striking effects in the article of produce, as well as in the wealth of these American States.

These are reflections well worthy the consideration of the different members of community, and of the well wishers of our country; for it is but too evident that these United States are daily impoverished by the vast number of slaves within their borders. If any reflecting being doubt the truth of these assertions, let them cast an eye to Virginia, the oldest settled state in the Union, and tell us why the newer states of New York and Pennsylvania have so far outstripped her in wealth and population—and judge for themselves if slavery has not been the cause;—let them further consider the conduct of John Randolph, and of Judge Washington, and reflect upon the assertion made by the latter himself. "I had struggled, he says, for about twenty years to pay the expence of my farm, and to afford a comfortable support to those who cultivated it from the produce of their labor. In this way to have balanced that account would have satisfied me. But I always had to draw upon my other resources for those objects, and I would state up-

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on my best judgment, that the produce of the farm has in general fallen short of its support, from five hundred to one thousand dollars annually. To the best of my recollection I have during the above period, (two years excepted) had to buy corn for the negroes, for which I have sometimes paid from five to seven dollars per barrel. Last year I had to commence the purchase of this article for ninety negroes in the month of May, & so continued to the end."

Should not this alone be sufficient, without any further assertion, to bring every one to his own reflections, and enable them to consider the situation in which they are, as well as how much this situation might be improved by giving way to the dictates of sound judgment. I firmly believe, that if every one was awakened to a sense of his own interest, there would not be a slave purchaser within the borders of our Union; and in what would the value of a negro then consist? would it consist in his labor, that is obtained from him by simply the support of life afforded him? or, would it consist in that unlimited control and love of power, that enable many to say, "*They are mine, I bought them?*" Let these consider the fallacy and incorrectness of this mode of reasoning, and consider the advantage that would be acquired, were they simply to liberate their slaves, and then hire them for their labour; the idea of liberty is powerful upon the mind,—and these could be hired to undergo every species of labour that is necessary to be done;—and were these sentiments of liberation general, blacks could be procured for labor with the greatest ease, and with the smallest expense, as animation and freedom's blessings would then warm the heart, and nearly half the number that we now employ would then suffice; thus producing a large overplus of labor, and thus enabling us to increase our farms, increase the quantity of our produce, and in consequence increase our wealth and our riches; in the mean while the delights of freedom would be seen on every side, and the joy of self approbation would glow in every breast, rendering our country the seat of happiness indeed, and our land the land of liberty and of independence, blessed with the approving smiles of Heaven.

AFRICANUS.

More Kidnapping.—On Sunday evening, the 27th of April last, a negro girl, who lived with me, was sent out into an out-field of mine, to drive up the cattle to the cowpen; which she was in the daily

habit of doing at milking time; it was after sunset, that evening, when she started, and I have not seen her since. She was kidnapped, I suppose, while after the cattle, by some unknown ruffian. She was seen on Sunday last the 11th inst. in the neighborhood of the notorious Jos. Johnson, by some women.

She had got away from a fellow by the name of Elliott Willing, who had been stationed to guard her at a harbor in the woods, while he was drunk and asleep, as she stated, she got up to the house of a Mrs. Wilson, not far from North West Fork Bridge, Dorchester county, Maryland, where she found no one except a couple of ladies at home. She related to them the circumstance of her being kidnapped, and requested them to afford her protection, but the ruffian who had her in charge in the woods, and from whom she got away, soon came in pursuit of her and claimed her as his own runaway slave; the ladies were soon intimidated and gave her up without any resistance to Willing; he carried her off, and I have not seen or heard any thing of her since, except that she was at the house of Mrs. Wilson on Sunday last. She told them that she had been kidnapped, and related the circumstance correctly.

Considerable search has been made for her, but she cannot be found, and it is now supposed she has been carried off in a vessel from the Nanticoke river to Norfolk or Petersburg in Virginia, and from thence to some southern Market; her name is Nancy; she is about thirteen years of age and about four feet high, spare built, tolerably black in her complexion, though not of the deepest cast. If any discovery should be made of her by the friends of humanity, they will please write to me and direct their letters to Laurel, Sussex county, Delaware, and I will do what I can to release her and get her back again.

EBENEZER CALLAWAY,

Near Laurel, Delaware.

May 14th, 1823.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Letters of "*Ireneus to Sophronia*" are now concluded. Being desirous to complete them in the present volume, the favors of a number of others have been postponed. Much editorial matter has, likewise, been crowded out. Several communications, which have been some time on hand, may be looked for shortly.

END OF VOLUME II.